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Daily Report

East Europe

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End to Greek 'Interference' in Church Demanded

LD1910205094 Tirana Radio Tirana in English 1900 GMT 19 Oct 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] The spokesman for the Greek Government, Evangelos Venizelos, in his recent day statement speaks about the threat over the presence of Archbishop Anastasios Yannoulatos at the head of the Autocephalous Orthodox Church of Albania which allegedly comes as a result of the separate articles of the just Constitution of Albania.

Meanwhile the spokesman for the Foreign Ministry of Albania, (Kostas Bickas), takes advantage of the opportunity to declare that the Greek Government considers the issue of the Albanian draft constitution with great concern. [sentence as heard] The Albanian Government, in a statement published Tuesday [18 October] considers this statement as unacceptable interference in the internal affairs of Albanian state. Greece, says the statement, has no right to intervene in the internal affairs of Albanian state and what's more, in the internal affairs of a related institution of this state.

The Albanian Autocephalous Orthodox Church has its own statutes which also determine even who must be at the head of it and who must not have the right to dictate it things which run against it. Greece has no right to use the existence of a Greek (?priest) as the primate of Albanian orthodox church. To ignore its autocephalous character, (?when) known is the fact that he is not missionary or representative of the Greek state in Albania.

Further on the statement of Albanian Government says: We invite European Union, its presidency, European Parliament, European committee, American Congress, CSCE, and other international democratic institutions to make a comprehensive assessment of Albanian draft constitution and of the Greek Constitution on problems of minorities and religion.

The persons who belong to the national minorities have equal rights before the law—the right to exercise fundamental human rights and freedoms; they enjoy the right of freely expressing themselves and develop their ethnic, cultural, religious and lingual identity. They enjoy the right to learn or to be taught in mother tongue and to participate in organizations and associations for the protection of their interests and identity.

Too, the nationality is determined on the basis of international norms. The Greek Constitution ignores this right. In regard to religion, the statement goes on to say, we think that this comprehensive assessment will testify how much absurd and groundless are the statements of the Greek officials. The Albanian Government denounces the interventions of the Greek Government, which contrary to the most elementary principles of the hundred years old democracy, aim at threatening the sovereignty of Albanian people, to promulgate the fundamental law of (?its) state.

The Albanian Government requires from the Greek Government to put an end to this intervention which seriously damaged the efforts for the normalization of Albanian-Greek relations and further raised the tension in the troubled Balkan region.

Prime Minister, CSCE Minorities Commissioner Meet

LD1910211394 Tirana Radio Tirana in English 1900 GMT 19 Oct 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] The High Commissioner of the CSCE on the National Minorities, Max van der Stoel, was received by the Albanian prime minister, Aleksandr Meksi.

Meksi informed the high personality of the CSCE on the position of the Greek minority in Albania and the commitment of his government on this problem. Meksi said within the two years of the democratic government in Albania deep changes have affected the minority. They enjoy, like all the Albanian citizens, the basic freedoms without discrimination and thanks to the Albanian Government's policy in the field of education, culture, and press, the development of their identity is guaranteed.

Stoel thanked the prime minister for the cooperation with the Albanian authorities in accomplishing the aims of his visit and for the open contacts he had with the Albanian institutions and personalities.

Stoel valued the policy of the Albanian Government in the field of education (?and laid emphasis) on the new decision on the minorities, pointing out that it conforms with the advanced international standards.

Stoel was interested in the constitution referendum, the relations with Greece, and the situation of the Albanians in the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia.

Meksi said the constitution is of European standard and the referendum is a direct norm of democracy provides the free will of the people. Speaking about the relations with Greece, the Albanian prime minister pointed out the readiness of the Albanian state for dialogue with Athens without imposing conditions and with the mediation of the third party.

The providing of the status for the Albanian migrants in Greece and the guaranteeing of their rights without pressure or conditions will contribute to the improvement of the relations with Greece. It is important that the Greek side recognizes and respects the minorities living in Greece, among which are the Albanian one.

Speaking about the situation of the Albanians in the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, Meksi said his government hoped that the Macedonian authorities are to fulfill the state forming rights of the Albanians there.

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Energy Ministry Hopes To Revive Nickel Industry

AU1910122294 Lezha KOHA JONE in Albanian 8 Oct 94 p 8

[Report by A. Denaj: "The Iron-Nickel Industry Seeking Full Reactivation"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Mining used to be one of our most active and profitable industries. Natural resources, with high-quality minerals including iron-nickel and silicate nickel, have proved a good source of income for our country. The mines of Prenjas and Guri i Kuq in Elbasan used to produce around 1 million tons of iron-nickel a year, and until the first quarter of 1992 it was planned that production would continue at this level. Some of the ore went to the metallurgical plant in Elbasan, while around 250,000 tons was exported to the Sered plant in Slovakia. With the closure of the Elbasan metallurgical plant and the halt in production at Sered for financial reasons, the iron-nickel mines were left without consumers and hence shut down production.

Mr. Gezim Dauti, a head of department in the Ministry of Energy and Mines, says that since the second quarter of 1992 the government has taken several steps to ensure that the mines are technically maintained and has granted them special funds for the purpose.

However, their technical condition is just one aspect. Another and most important aspect is the economic one, that of production, increasing the work force, and gaining the necessary income—aims that are still far from being achieved. This is because the work done in this direction is still at the negotiation stage with foreign companies.

"During this period," Mr. Dauti points out, "there have been talks with many foreign companies, mostly concerning iron-nickel exports, but so far they have not led to anything concrete. Foreign companies have shown particular interest in silicate nickel. We are currently expecting to conclude an agreement with a Macedonian [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM] firm for the export of 50,000 tons of iron-nickel. Negotiations are also under way with a German-Hungarian firm, Centrooped K.F.T. in Budapest, and the German firm Vogel Revizions [name as published], which has shown particular interest in silicate nickel. Vogel Revizions will also carry out a study on our nickel industry. For this purpose, 40 tons of silicate nickel ore have been taken for laboratory analysis, and we are awaiting the results."

On 1 August 1994, Vogel Revizions also concluded an agreement with the Ministry of Energy and Mines under which it will act as a liaison between this sector and foreign markets, finding foreign firms interested in buying the mineral. Since world demand for this product has slumped, the German company has thus far been unable to find any interested foreign companies. This also explains why there are so few foreign companies that have started discussions and negotiations with our ministry.

If a market for iron-nickel can be found, the mines are ready to be started up again. At meetings between ministry specialists and the various foreign firms, the main issue discussed has been whether the iron-nickel industry would be profitable enough if it were revived. Let's hope that the answer to that question will soon be "Yes."

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Border Officers Seize Radioctive Capsules

AU1910120494 Sofia STANDART NEWS in Bulgarian 14 Oct 94 p 1

[Report by Asen Nedyalkov: "Capsules Containing Plutonium Seized in Malko Turnovo]

[FBIS Translated Text] Burgas—The regional police directorate has reported that four lead capsules suspected of containing radioactive materials were seized yesterday at the Malko Turnovo border checkpoint. The consignment was concealed in the baggage compartment of a Turkish Mercedes bus with the registration number 34AHC555 that was travelling from Romania to Turkey. The sealed containers are 28 cm long and 10 cm in diameter, each weighing about 7 kg.

Readings were taken on the spot with a radiation meter type RR 51-M, which indicated high levels of radioactivity. All 37 Romanian passengers were detained for questioning, then released in the afternoon and taken to Istanbul on another Turkish bus. None of them admitted to being the owner of the "illegal baggage." The two bus drivers are being held under arrest at the regional police headquarters. They told the investigators that they knew nothing about the radioactive materials found in the bus. A police source stated that it is still not clear what the lead vessels contain. This can only be established after the contents are subjected to spectral analysis at the Nuclear Physics Institute of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences or the National Institute of Forensic Science and Criminology. According to experts, the containers are likely to contain plutonium.

The consignment was seized as the result of a tipoff. According to a police theory, it is likely that the shipment was intended as a decoy, to distract attention prior to smuggling large quantities of radioactive materials or narcotics. The real shipment may not necessarily be sent through Malko Turnovo, since it is safer to consign the goods through Burgas Airport or seaport.

Trenchev: Podkrepa Forming 'Armed Detachments'

AU1910134794 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 14 Oct 94 p 2

[Report by Ekaterina Popova: "Podkrepa Is Organizing Armed Detachments"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Armed detachments are being organized at the municipal, regional, and national levels under the aegis of the Podkrepa Labor Confederation. Yesterday Podkrepa leader Dr. Konstantin Trenchev boasted that the model for the organization is almost ready. He added that colonels had been working on the concept, but they were not former State Security officers.

The trade union leader declared that the detachments will consist of people with no criminal records and with stable mental health, who will be well trained and well armed. The new structure is intended to assist law enforcement authorities in combating crime. Dr. Trenchev explained that the idea of forming the organization arose from the human instinct of self-preservation, which is not subject to any law. As regards the act of arming the detachments, he said that this could be arranged legally, if the rulers show any concern for their subjects.

Trenchev said that the organization was drawing experience from the "Army of Salvation" based in Geneva and from similar structures in Georgia.

SDS, Democratic Change Discuss Alliance

AU1910140594 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1000 GMT 19 Oct 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Today the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS] and the Party of Democratic Changes, led by Mehmed Hodja, discussed the possibilities for cooperation during the election campaign. Stefan Sofianski, deputy chairman of the SDS National Coordinating Council, said that the regions in which Ahmed Dogan's Rights and Freedoms Movement [DPS] had lost influence were of particular importance. Commenting on today's meeting, Sofianski also mentioned the consultations that the SDS held yesterday with representatives of the VMRO [Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization-Union of Macedonian Societies], which strengthened the likelihood that an agreement may be signed with the two organizations during the closing stages of the campaign. Sofianski said it is possible that candidates from the Party of Democratic Changes and VMRO may be included in the SDS candidates' lists in certain regions.

Mehmed Hodja neither confirmed nor denied these conjectures.

Patriotic Alliance To Run Independently

AU1910141494 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 14 Oct 94

["DUMA PRESS" report]

[FBIS Translated Text] The Patriotic Alliance, which was formed by six organizations (the OPT [Fatherland Party of Labor], New Bulgaria Party, Alliance for the Fatherland, Bulgarian Liberals Party, Democratic Women's Union, and the Will for Bulgaria Movement) is moving toward running independently in the elections, Stefan Nikolov, chairman of the New Bulgaria Party, stated yesterday. At a meeting yesterday the leaders of the six parties and organization decided that the alliance's leading organ should be a council of the party chairmen in which everyone has an equal status.

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Klaus: CR Wants Strong Slovak Government

AU1910122694 Bratislava SMENA in Slovak 17 Oct 94 p 1

[Interview with Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus by Iva Librova in Blansko, southern Moravia, during the meeting of the Civic Democratic Party Executive Council "this weekend": "Klaus: Slovakia Needs a Strong Government"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Librova] Mr. Klaus, what is your view of the present postelection situation in Slovakia?

[Klaus] Look, I would like to draw attention to one thing. Slovakia is for us an independent state. Our judgments about the situation in Slovakia should not be too different from our judgments about the situation in other countries. I would like to stress that Czech citizens should realize that they do not have the right to get involved in Slovak problems any more than in the problems of other countries. The second thing I would like to say is that it is not just in the interest of Slovakia to have a firm, strong, and stable government. It is also in the interest of the Czech Republic [CR] that Slovakia have a firm and strong government that will have a mind to do something, rather than a government that will be waiting for some new government, by which it will be recalled after a few months. With such a government, we would be unable to come to an agreement on matters that are of concern to us. That is our criterion.

[Librova] Could you tell us in which direction Czech foreign policy is now heading? Is joining the European Union [EU] the number-one priority?

[Klaus] In my opinion, we have set ourselves the goal of becoming a normal European country. Today it is no longer possible to become such a country without becoming a part of the EU. Our policy in this regard is clear. The shift to the word union made on 1 January of last year was perhaps premature. In my opinion, community is a clearer term. Illusions about a Europe that will abolish states and that will be a Europe of regions or of citizens disappeared a long time ago. National identities will not get lost in Europe. Those fears are groundless.

Racially Motivated Attacks Reported Rising

AU1910134294 Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech 14 Oct p 2

[Article by "ajk": "Attacks Against Romanies Rise; Nevertheless, the Interior Ministry Sees No Reason for Special Measures"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Prague—Although the number of racially motivated attacks by extremist groups, particularly the skinheads movement, against Romanies and other foreigners multiplied several times in recent months, the Interior Ministry believes that no extraordinary measures are necessary.

The report, submitted yesterday by Deputy Interior Minister Martin Fendrych to the parliamentary Human Rights and Minorities Committee, states that, during the first seven months of this year, the police investigated 94 instances of attacks for racial reasons; 74 of them were classified as criminal offenses and 20 as misdemeanors. In all of 1993, there were only 55 such cases, of which 10 were described as misdemeanors and 45 as offenses.

The ministry has not even proposed that criminal tariffs for racially motivated criminal offenses be increased. It favors the idea that many of the cases would be judged not only as crimes of violence but that the investigators and attorneys would also apply other articles of the Criminal Code. These include, above all, stipulations concerning the defamation of a nation, race, and conviction, incitement of national and racial hatred, and support for and propaganda of movements oriented toward the suppression of the rights and freedoms of citizens.

In 29 of the 94 cases from the beginning of this year to the end of July—that is, less than one-fifth of the total—the culprits were charged with one of these offenses. Of five criminal offenses provoked by Romanies, only two were judged as racially motivated.

Techniques To Stop Nuclear Smuggling Discussed

LD1910221794 Prague CT 1 Television Network in Czech 1830 GMT 19 Oct 94

[FBIS Translated Text] The latest form of criminality, which came into existence some two years ago, is the illegal trading in radioactive materials. The interest comes mostly from the high-risk areas where imports of these materials and the processing technologies are prohibited. Other interested parties recruit from various extremist organizations that intend to use these substances for radioactive blackmail and terrorism.

[Begin unidentified Czech police official recording] The most frequent deals concern Osmium, isotope 187. The price for one gram of this substance is $60-70,000. So, if you realize that physically we are unable to detect one gram, which can be hidden anywhere and whose radiation value is virtually zero, you can imagine how safe it is to transport it. [end recording]

Some 108 illegal deals were recorded all over the world last year. The motives are clear. While one kilogram of plutonium legally costs $100-500, the same amount will cost several million dollars on the black market. The same applies to some 15 other substances that are interesting for the nuclear mafia. Policemen, politicians, and the media were, until recently, unable to combat this kind of criminality.

[Begin Czech police official recording] We proposed recently an amendment to Article 186 of the Criminal Code, the idea of which is similar to that embodied in

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the article on the production of toxic substances and poisons. Parliament has accepted the proposal and passed the amendment. So now I can tell you that, if the third section of that article is breached, there is a penalty of up to 15 years in prison. [end recording]

The amount of illegal trading in nuclear substances has been rising, despite the fact that only 5 percent of the deals work out. That is the reason the police force is preparing measures that will disclose the transportation of these substances at border crossings.

[Begin Czech police official recording] We will gradually equip border crossings with devices so the individual dosimetric control can be carried out even on trucks. We—that is, the police force—are already so equipped. [end recording]

Some detectors, designed to prevent the smuggling of radioactive materials to Germany, have already been installed at some border crossings with the Czech Republic. The information has been confirmed by the press officer of the Bavarian Ministry of Interior, as well as by the press officer of the Bavarian frontier police. This measure is not directed against the Czech Republic at all. It is part of a project worked out to combat the so-called nuclear mafia. Both press officers have stressed that full details concerning exact locations of Geiger-Mueller computers at road or railway crossings cannot be revealed so as not to inform smugglers. According to my information, these are the first steps taken under the project into which Bavaria intends to invest almost 1 million German marks.

All police stations in Bavaria should be equipped with the detectors by 1996. Some policemen and some mobile police units will receive personal dosimeters. The same equipment is being considered for road patrols carrying out routine checks—for example, on motorways. The Bavarian police have adopted these measures after four major cases in which smuggled plutonium-239 was discovered and seized. The largest shipment was seized at the Munich airport in August, where 300 grams of this radioactive substance used in manufacturing atomic bombs was seized.

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Coexistence Seeks Place in Coalition Government

AU1910142094 Bratislava DENNIK in Slovak 17 Oct 94 p 2

[TA SR report: "Coexistence Wants Place in Broad Coalition Government"]

[FBIS Translated Text] "We evaluated the results of the coalition of three Hungarian political parties in the parliamentary election as successful," Arpad Duka-Zolyomi, deputy chairman of the Coexistence movement, stated at a news conference held after a meeting of the Coexistence National Council. He said that the coalition's 17 mandates in parliament will be divided among the coalition members as follows: nine mandates will go to Coexistence, seven to the Hungarian Christian Democratic Movement, and one to the Hungarian Civic Party. Participants in the meeting described the present political situation in Slovakia as dominated by lobbying. They said that, if it is not known what kind of government will be formed, the parliamentary election was superfluous. In this context, Arpad Duka-Zolyomi reported that, in the opinion of the National Council, there exist two possibilities of forming a government. Either the government will be formed by the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia, with its partner Slovak National Party and another political party, in which case the Hungarian tripartite coalition will be in opposition, or a broad coalition government will be formed. In this case, Coexistence would lay claim to appropriate representation in the government in accordance with the election results. At any rate, the tripartite coalition would like to contribute maximally to political stabilization in the Slovak Republic, Arpad Duka Zolyomi stressed.

SDL Denies Pledge To Help Oust President

LD1910172794 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1600 GMT 19 Oct 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Representatives of the Party of the Democratic Left [SDL] and the Democratic Union of Slovakia [DU] agreed at a consultative meeting held today that the parliamentary bodies should be formed according to the proportionate principle. SDL Chairman Peter Weiss recalled that this principle was observed when, after the coalition government was formed, the parliamentary bodies were left in their original composition, and Ivan Gasparovic continued to hold the post of parliament chairman.

Weiss rebutted information according to which the SDL made a written pledge to the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia [HZDS] that the SDL would help to oust the president, that the SDL chairman would resign from his post, and that the SDL would acknowledge Vladimir Meciar as the only candidate for the post of prime minister.

SNS Wants Measures Against Minority Persecution

AU1910141894 Bratislava SLOVENSKA REPUBLIKA in Slovak 17 Oct 94 p 2

[TA SR report: "Concern About Activities of the Minority; Slovak National Party Central Council Did Not Accept Jan Slota's Resignation"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Zilina—The Slovak National Party [SNS] Central Council, meeting in Zilina on 15 October, rejected Jan Slota's offer to resign as SNS chairman. A total of 33 members of the SNS Central Council voted for Slota to remain party chairman, three supported his resignation, and five abstained.

According to Slota, the SNS Central Council expressed satisfaction that the SNS had succeeded in entering parliament. It regards as a warning that Hungarian political entities gained a higher percentage of votes in the 1994 parliamentary election than the SNS.

The SNS Central Council expressed concern about the postelection activity of the Hungarian political parties and movements in southern Slovakia. The SNS demands that the relevant state administration and self-administration bodies, courts, and prosecutor offices expeditiously take effective measures to protect and prevent the persecution of people who are nationally oriented and loyal to the Slovak state.

It called on all of the political entities that won seats in parliament in the election to cooperate constructively and to initiate the formation of a government that would stabilize the political, economic, and social sphere and more intensively address ethnic issues, particularly in southern Slovakia. The SNS will contest commune elections jointly with the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia [HZDS].

[Bratislava SMENA in Slovak on 17 October on pages 1 and 2 carries a 200-word correspondent's report on the SNS Central Council meeting, which includes the following passage: "Assessing the course of coalition talks thus far, Jan Slota confirmed his party's close cooperation with the HZDS, which also finds its expression in the fielding of joint mayoral candidates in the coming commune elections. He stressed the importance of establishing contacts with the Association of Workers of Slovakia and did not rule out the possibility of Jan Luptak's joining the new government. One has to wait for further clarification of the situation in the Party of the Democratic Left. 'The SNS would like to hold the defense, education, and culture portfolios in the coalition government. We have experts for those positions who are ready to join the government,' Slota stressed."]

Minister Sees KDH, HZDS Accord on Economy

AU1910120894 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 14 Oct p 4

[Interview with Mikulas Dzurinda, minister of transport, communications, and public works and KDH chairman

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and spokesman on economic affairs, by Oldrich Zabojnik; place and date not given: "Economic Programs of the KDH and the HZDS Perceive Privatization in the Same Manner and Are Not Mutually Exclusive"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Mikulas Dzurinda, Slovak minister of trade, communications, and public works and KDH chairman and its spokesman on economic affairs, did not rule out in an interview with HOSPODARSKE NOVINY an approximation between the economic programs of the Christian Democratic Movement [KDH] and the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia [HZDS].

[Zabojnik] Which differences of opinion, economic or political, must be overcome, above all, before the conceivable coalition cooperation between the KDH and the HZDS?

[Dzurinda] First, it is a matter of political issues. In first place among them is the relation to the president of the Republic. We can speak in more detail about the approach to the economy only after this is settled—from the vantage point of the interests of Slovakia and the vantage point of solutions to the individual problems. And I dare say we are more likely to find analogous views here than in the political sphere.

[Zabojnik] Can you be more specific about the basis for this statement?

[Dzurinda] I talked with HZDS Deputy Chairman A.M. Huska on behalf of the KDH. We discussed in some detail coupon privatization and power- and gas-industry privatization, and I discovered that, while our points of departure are different, we see many things in a very similar way. After some clarifications, the conclusions were not as different as one would expect at first glance. The economy simply holds us in a firm grasp, and, because politics is frequently brought in, it seems that the approaches differ significantly.

[Zabojnik] In which areas do you see the proximity of the views of the two entities?

[Dzurinda] In agriculture, for instance, where we no longer seem in the eyes of the partners to be as destructive as we once seemed. It is a result of their trying it out in practice. Both the HZDS and the Party of the Democratic Left [SDL] had their agriculture ministers, and suddenly our views in this sphere appear different. The same applies to privatization, social policy, and other areas. Nonetheless, all of the economic problems can only be solved in a peaceful social atmosphere. Therefore, we emphasize political cooperation as priority number-one.

[Zabojnik] Could your perception of the situation be interpreted also as the president being an irreplaceable guarantee of Slovak transformation?

[Dzurinda] Slovakia needs peace to—if I may express it metaphorically—engage in the struggle for one's daily bread. This peace cannot be attained without some pillars of support. If the government is not such a pillar at present because it is just after the election, and if, for the same reason, it is neither the parliament nor a spectrum of sufficiently politically mature, stable parties, let us keep at least one support—the institution of the president. Thus, it is not good to make him into a target of some political hunt. That is a matter of principal importance to us.

[Zabojnik] Is it an acceptable idea for you to remain in the post of transport minister in the government of Vladimir Meciar?

[Dzurinda] I could imagine a ministerial post in any government the KDH enters as a coalition partner.

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New Military Secret Service Procedures Outlined

LD1910223294 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 2100 GMT 19 Oct 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Speaking to the parliament's Defense Committee today, Defense Minister Gyorgy Keleti outlined the orders on the basis of which the Military Security Office can conduct security surveillance in the future. Krisztina Antalffy reports.

[Antalffy] In the future only the defense minister and the commander of the Army can request—and only in writing—a security assessment from the Military Security Office. The office's head will be obliged to refuse a possible verbal order. This was announced by the minister at the Defense Committee session. He said that next week he would issue two internal orders to solve legal loopholes revealed by the so-called Wachsler committee [parliamentary committee investigating illegal surveillance by the Military Security Office]. According to Keleti's draft, the political state secretary also would have had the right to request a security surveillance. However, at the request of opposition parliamentary deputies in the Defense Committee, the minister has given up this plan.

A request for security assessment—which has to be submitted in written form—has to include the reasons and aims of the measure. Files on matters in progress, or ordered after 14 February 1990—which are not in connection with the new orders—have to be destroyed and the person concerned has to be informed about this step. The head of the Military Security Office has to complete this task within 30 days.

Another order by the defense minister regulates the group of those who can be subject to surveillance, those who fill a particularly important post or status. They will have to sign a document on understanding the fact that they are subject to a security assessment.

Horn Meets Petoe To Discuss Coalition Problems

LD1910211294 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1900 GMT 19 Oct 94

[FBIS Translated Text] [Prime Minister] Gyula Horn and Ivan Petoe [chairman of the Alliance of Free Democrats, SZDSZ] consider that they have fulfilled the obligations laid down in the coalition agreement. However, the chairmen of the two parties consider it necessary to modernize the work of the coalition coordination council and to speed up the decisionmaking process.

There is no problem which would hinder cooperation, said the prime minister, after having completed a more than an hour-long consultation, at his own initiative, with the chairman of the SZDSZ.

To avoid misunderstanding, Ivan Petoe announced that he continued to be in favor of joint governing. They consider disputes as natural and that differences in opinion can be sorted out on meetings like this.

At the meeting, the media dispute that has erupted between the parties, was also mentioned. Gyula Horn trusts that the difference of opinion can be settled within two weeks and the bill could be submitted to parliament before the end of the year.

MSZP Leader Views Coalition, Party Issues

AU1910121194 Budapest UJ MAGYARORSZAG in Hungarian 18 Oct 94 pp 1,17

[Interview with Ivan Vitanyi, chairman of the Hungarian Socialist Party's national committee, by Laszlo Fabian; place and date not given: "Cooperation Is the Chance"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] *The Hungarian Socialist Party [MSZP] recently held its congress, at which Ivan Vitanyi was reelected as chairman of the national committee. This is interesting because it is known that he does not at all hold the same views on all issues as the party's chairman.* [passage omitted]

[Fabian] Does this left-wing formation have any national traits or does internationalism as a heritage determine its way of thinking (I can see some signs of this); perhaps, this internationalism has already transformed into cosmopolitanism?

[Vitanyi] I believe that these notions appear in a different way today. All domestic parties are internationalist in some way. The conservative parties are members of the conservative international just the same way, although the name is different (even Jozsef Antall was proud of his role in the European conservative union); the characteristics of parties as political movements are now international. [passage omitted]

As far as I can see, a very definite national thinking is evolving in the MSZP which organically perceives the collectivity of this nation. It is very well aware of the fact that when something good happens in Szentgotthard [western Hungary] then this also has a significance for Vasarosnameny [eastern Hungary]. I think that this is the national thinking. I add that when something is significant for Szentgotthard and Vasarosnameny then it is also important for Eszek [Osijek], Beregszasz [Beregovo], and Kolozsvar [Cluj- Napoca]. [passage omitted]

[Fabian] The difference of views on the coalition between you and [Prime Minister] Gyula Horn might stem from the fact that, for you, the process of civic transformation is primary. Has Horn advanced more, is he perhaps worrying about a liberal power change?

[Vitanyi] It is possible, although you should ask him about this. I certainly am not thinking of a single-level government or a single-level power. For me, the existence of the coalition is a blessing rather than a need; it would be ideal to make this coalition as broad as possible. If it cannot be as broad as to represent the whole society then, for me, the social democratic and liberal coalition can be good. This cannot by any means

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mean that we should not constantly strive to represent the whole society. Governing is one thing and society is another. I do not believe in governing being almighty, either. I believe that society is almighty. Society decides. [passage omitted]

[Fabian] The fact that you are concerned about the party's governing role, that this might kill the movement in it, might be another point of friction between the two party leaders.

[Vitanyi] I am not worried about the party's governmental role because a government has to exist. I would only like to warn that when this comes then we have to take countermeasures. The party adjusted well when it went into opposition from government. Some people criticized us for not being sharper and louder against the government. We said that we strive for a quiet but determined voice. [passage omitted]

[Fabian] Is the MSZP supported by a large section of the intelligentsia?

[Vitanyi] A significant section of the intelligentsia stands between social democracy and liberalism, without joining either of the parties. When they had to join a party they usually oriented toward the liberals. [passage omitted]

[Fabian] Actually, it seems that the MSZP has also realized that a unified party that was envisaged by the communists cannot and must not be set up any more. Platforms are formed in the party and the party makes an attempt to cover the whole society.

[Vitanyi] The MSZP also has to realize, like all parties throughout the world, that unified parties do not exist anywhere. Just as social democracy and conservatism can be found in the liberal parties, the social democratic thought can also be found in the conservative parties. [passage omitted] If a party's leadership is wise then it looks upon this as a natural process. This develops in its own way and it is harmed if someone wants to interfere in it artificially, wants to unite it too soon and with too much force. Here in the MSZP, the leadership might not yet have progressed as far as this. However, it has gotten as far as not to wish to destroy the diversity. Only live thoughts are useful for the movement, rather than the repetition of the same thought.

[Fabian] You have to face the fact that a new generation is upcoming, namely people in their 30's who are very pragmatic, have less interest in ideals and more in power, in governmental techniques, and in finding out how to get into power—the party also has to face these people.

[Vitanyi] I hope that people in their 20's are also coming because in them I can see lively interest in ideals and in reformulating the ideals. I do not think, either, that the next tendency will necessarily be pragmatic. [passage omitted]

[Fabian] Talking about the future, how long will the MSZP be able to govern together with the Alliance of Free Democrats? If it cannot, then what will happen?

[Vitanyi] I do not like to make predictions. I do not see this as a marriage of convenience. It is a result of the fact that social democracy and liberalism are close to each other in the current political situation. It can be spoiled but there is a chance for the alliance to survive for a long time providing that the parties give it their political essence. The alliance might even be extended. I would not find the coalition's collapse positive for the MSZP. And it certainly would not be positive for Hungarian political life if a single-color government was formed. [passage omitted]

MSZP Leader on Social, Economic Agreement

AU1910122994 Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian 17 Oct 94 pp 1,5

[Interview with Sandor Csintalan, executive deputy chairman of the Hungarian Socialist Party, MSZP, by Katalin Torok; place and date not given: "Sandor Csintalan Holds Surgery on Sundays—I Would Like a Rich and Colorful MSZP"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Passage omitted] [Torok] Talks on the social and economic agreement seem to have become stranded recently although, before the elections, you were committed to them.

[Csintalan] From the outset I have regarded the social and economic agreement as the highest element of political culture. Many people believe this to be a quick process but I did not much believe that it could be signed in October. This is not the point, anyway: Once we decided to settle conflicts through coordination of interests, then these institutions and traditions have to be established. However, no one should believe that this means an end to conflict. On the contrary! Interest coordination does not differ from the previous methods in that it eliminates or reduces the number of conflicts. The fact that the conflicts have appeared is precisely what is protecting us against taxi drivers' blockades [reference to social upheaval few years ago] or the major social cataclysms. Yes, we have [Finance Minister] Laszlo Bekesi, who is the main person responsible for implementing modernization and, naturally, we also have people who are responsible for making the social problems surface.... It seems that the single-centered political system caused distortions with all of us and we still do not comprehend the competing multiparty system.

Moral, Cultural Mission

[Torok] What do you expect at the local government elections?

[Csintalan] According to my hopes, our position will significantly improve compared to our current presence—at the moment, only one or two towns have a

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Socialist majority body. I partly trust in this because our candidates are good and because people also feel a serious need for replacing the local governments. [passage omitted]

[Torok] Will it not be too much for the Hungarian Socialist Party [MSZP] if it is also very successful at the local government elections?

[Csintalan] The reply is very simple: no. This is a competition that is called every four years and the decision is made by the citizens. It is too much for a party if a political force promises more—in honesty and professionalism, rather than in a social sense—than it can implement, but this is not the case. Nor do I see any danger because the institutions of civil democracy are working, therefore, it is no cause for concern if a political force becomes dominant.

Privatization Will Justifiably Be Demanded

[Torok] Has the coalition come up to expectations?

[Csintalan] I can feel that a fair number of the electors had expected more from it. Personally, I believe that it is too early to judge this and this is connected to the facts of the change of the regime: Politically, these two parties have never worked together ever since they were established. This is the reason I find it partly natural for the cooperation not to be at its optimum level at the moment. I add that I would next like to express my views on this issue a week before the 1998 elections.

[Torok] Many people are worried about how the rest of privatization will be implemented. The trade unions—including the National Federation of Hungarian Trade Unions—have said that the new privatization law under preparation offers even less say and fewer rights to the employees than does the current one and, through its methods, it strongly restricts the range of people who can still get access to the assets to be privatized. What are your views on this?

[Csintalan] I agree that this is indeed an important issue. However, these are not yet facts, but only expert materials being drawn up in the ministries. It is true that the submitted proposal narrows the demand side and I can also sense the danger the trade unions are talking about. It is not good for the buyer [as published] to write the law. We are having a big debate on this in the parliamentary group and the executive committee, and the party elite is also discussing this. The privatization draft bill has not yet been completed, alternatives have also been suggested that contradict the current stance. This will be one of the most serious clashes in the coming six months and the electors will be justified in questioning us on the privatization methods.

Minority Self-Government Applications Turned In

LD1910202194 Budapest Duna TV in Hungarian 1700 GMT 19 Oct 94

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Less than one and a half months to go to the local authority elections in Hungary [scheduled for 10 December]. Minorities living in Hungary can—for the first time—elect their own minority self-governments [kisebbsegi oenkormanyzat].

According to information to date, there have been applications for the election of 786 minority self-governments requested by 13 minorities. Are these figures correct?

[Dr. Zoltan Toth, department head at the Interior Ministry] Your information is correct. We have gathered this information on the basis of data received from the notaries of towns and villages. There are altogether 3,200 cities, towns, and villages in Hungary, therefore minority self-government elections have been initiated at 20 percent of them. The number of minority initiatives show a strong divergence. Sixty-five percent of the initiatives have been submitted by communities belonging to the gypsy minority. There is only one minority, the Ukrainian, which has not submitted any applications at all. The rest of the initiatives are distributed among 10 other minorities. [passage omitted]

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Portugal Dispels Doubt Over Poland's EU Bid

LD1910221094 Lisbon RTP Internacional Television in Portuguese 1900 GMT 19 Oct 94

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] President Mario Soares today addressed the Polish Parliament in Warsaw and paid tribute to the struggle waged in Poland for the establishment of democracy. He also stressed the need for the EU to avoid disappointing the countries of East Europe. Our correspondent Carlos Fino reports:

[Fino] [Passage omitted] During the course of lengthy talks with his opposite number, Andrzej Olechowski, Portuguese Foreign Minister Durao Barroso strove to dispel Warsaw's doubts over Lisbon's position on Poland's bid for membership in the European institutions. Now we are sure that Portugal is not against us, the Polish foreign minister said afterwards, with some relief and satisfaction.

Agreement on the principles, however, does not mean that there is no conflict of interest in certain areas, such as, for example, the area of....

[Begin Durao Barroso recording] Textiles. We, Europe, are currently considering opening up the textiles market to some countries with whom there are association agreements. We do not absolutely object to this opening up, but we want to know what is in it for us in terms of a quid pro quo, in terms of our access to the markets. [end recording]

[Fino] In short, this visit signals the end of Portugal's reservations. Our country will henceforth pay closer attention to Central and East Europe and will, as of now, start looking for allies for the future battle of influences that will be fought when the EU will practically comprise the entire continent.

Security Head on Benefits of Brown Amendment

WS1910140094 Warsaw POLSKA ZBROJNA in Polish 18 Oct 94 p 3

[Interview with Henryk Goryszewski, head of the Polish State Security Office, by Andrzej Medykowski; place and date not given: "The Brown Amendment or the End of Blissful Peace"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Medykowski] The U.S. Congress has passed a resolution on participation in NATO, named the "Brown amendment," after its initiator. What are the implications for our country?

[Goryszewski] Passing this resolution, the Congress has clearly supported Poland's attempts to become a member of NATO. President Bill Clinton's administration may no longer claim that there exist no legal regulations allowing for the initiative in this respect. This will also encourage representatives of other North Atlantic Treaty states to publicly support Poland and other countries of the Visegrad Group in entering NATO.

It is worth remembering that the Clinton administration is critical of our aspirations, and its representatives sometimes voice their disapproval of Poland's membership in NATO.

[Medykowski] That is a very important political aspect. However, we also want access to U.S. military technology. What are our chances in this respect?

[Goryszewski] We now have a venue for formulating our demands or even come forth with specific needs. As a consequence, we could begin to apply for the administration's consent to give Poland access to the military know-how we require because there is now an adequate legal framework.

[Medykowski] Poland has probably begun preparations to take advantage of U.S. resources early on?

[Goryszewski] The issue is not new; possibilities of gaining access to U.S. military technology appeared back in 1990. It was supposed that Poland could be supplied with certain types of arms and equipment free of charge. The needs and possibilities of taking advantage of the resources of the U.S. Army have been discussed for a long time.

[Medykowski] Is this not a time to fear the consequences the amendment may have on the Polish military industry?

[Goryszewski] We have a huge military industry, which does not, however, produce certain types of modern weapons our Army badly needs. We lack modern technology, especially in the field of electronics. Our industry is incapable of producing weapons that require tremendous funding for research and huge production investments. I specifically mean fighter planes and long-range missiles. A country with our economic potential is incapable of designing, conducting lengthy and complicated prototype research, and producing weapons in numbers large enough to guarantee profitability.

Army equipment is not only supersonic fighter planes and rockets. There is a wide assortment of products an army needs, beginning with uniforms, vehicles, personal weapons, tanks, and so forth, which may well be, in fact must be, supplied by domestic industry.

[Medykowski] Some may ask why we need lengthy research, why bother with prototypes when we can get ready-made equipment....

[Goryszewski] Many may be tempted to take the opportunity and introduce U.S. technology to our Army. We should, however, use only technology that fills a gap in domestic industry supplies and does not push our producers out of the market.

We should choose the easiest way out and apply for the same types of weapons that are produced domestically because that would bring about a crisis in the military industry.

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I have already heard voices of deep concern from managers of our industry. I believe the Brown amendment should inspire the managers of 31 military industry plants to create a lobby group. During a recent visit with the prime minister to the Netherlands, I visited an institution that is a management board of sorts, made up of directors of private military plants. The private entrepreneurs, accustomed to competition, were able to unite and create a forum to represent their interests at home and protect them from foreign competitors.

I would like to take the opportunity to encourage directors of our military plants to meet as soon as possible and establish a similar representation. I am ready to assist in preparations of such a meeting and provide extensive help. I am deeply convinced that establishing a forum for cooperation, or even the presentation of joint interests to the Army and the state, is absolutely necessary.

It is necessary for the stimulation and reconstruction of the military industry in Poland.

One disturbing thought crosses my mind: It is not the head of the State Security Office who is to be concerned with the interests of plants. The managers in the military industry should apply for assistance in protecting their interests and dispel threats. One may not exclude such threats due to the passing of the Brown amendment.

[Medykowski] Can the Brown amendment disturb the blissful peace of directors of Polish military plants?

[Goryszewski] Disturbing this blissful peace would be greatly beneficial, an incentive for more effort, seeking new solutions and thus greater development. We badly need such a development, most of all to meet the challenge of foreign competition.

Strong foreign competition may prove dangerous at a time when we are learning about the market economy. Still, competition is needed to awaken us from peaceful slumber. This is an additional, unexpected advantage of the Brown amendment.

[Medykowski] The amendment may evoke fears among our military equipment suppliers, particularly Russia.

[Goryszewski] I am not afraid of that. I even see reasons for them to be satisfied. As deputy prime minister, I have always wished for a situation in which we would have several offers of products and services because then I could say: If you refuse to improve your offer, to lower the price and so on, I will choose the offer of your competitor.

[Medykowski] Has such a situation ever occurred?

[Goryszewski] At one point we faced the problem of equipping our Army with additional radio links. Unfortunately, we initially had only one offer. Still, once a provisional decision was made, other offers poured in. I decided to carry out what we called a second tender phase. As a result, the first offer was finally chosen, but we managed to cut costs by 250 percent.

The most modern fighters our Army has are MiG-29's. If the Americans give us their F-16's, we could consider competitive offers. We could then decide whether to purchase F-16's or Mig-29's at a reduced price.

[Medykowski] And improve electronics?

[Goryszewski] Exactly. This would be another advantage of the Brown amendment. Thus far, suppliers of unique equipment to Poland are well aware that we either have to purchase from them or not purchase at all. Once they realize we can choose to purchase equipment from the United States, they have to figure out how to remain in the Polish market.

[Medykowski] The Brown amendment affects not only Poland but also the remaining countries of the Visegrad Group. Will it have an effect on a consolidation of the group and strengthen its role, accelerating the pace of integration with the West and membership in NATO?

[Goryszewski] We want that to be a subsequent effect of the Brown amendment. It is not easy to be optimistic, however. The West estimates that Poland is more advanced in political and economic reforms than the rest of the Visegrad Group members states. Agreement on key issues would undoubtedly allow jus to gain a good position in the EC and in the treaty, as well to have influence on joint decisions.

It is in Poland's interests to establish a microcommunity that, conducting consultations on important issues, could appear on the outside as a relatively uniform group. The particular countries could count on support for their specific initiatives, such are the benefits of joining efforts. Because the countries of our region are not all that strong, a joint effort could help improve their position in Europe, as well as in the future united Europe, in the EC, and NATO.

Being the largest country of the group, Poland should aim at establishing such a microcommunity. We should stress that we wish to enter NATO together. Unfortunately, we have not had pleasant experiences. When negotiations on EC membership were held in Brussels, the group could have acted together, jointly coordinating their stand on EC issues. Meanwhile, each state carried out negotiations on their own, without realizing we could be stronger as a group.

[Medykowski] You have frequently visited test ranges and military units. Have the officers and soldiers expressed any interest in foreign equipment? Satisfying their curiosity would be one other advantage of the Brown amendment.

[Goryszewski] As a reserve officer, I am very interested myself, so you can imagine what a professional must feel! It would be unnatural for soldiers not to show interest in the weapons used by others. This is natural professional curiosity, more intense among our officers than anywhere else.

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The advantages would not be limited to learning about new types of equipment and weapons. Access to modern technology would probably allow us to improve our own solutions. When, for example, an eminent Russian designer saw our Iryda plane, he noticed that, if the way the front wheel folded was modified, there would be room to mount a radar. This was a remark made by a man who had spent long years designing various types of fighter planes.

By examining technical solutions applied abroad and acquiring more knowledge, one may apply certain elements or develop new, original ones, inspired by what may be seen elsewhere.

[Medykowski] Thank you for the interview.

Past, Expected Personnel Changes in Belweder

WS2010085894 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 19 Oct 94 p 2

[Article by M.D.Z.: "Rumors of Recall of Wachowski and Kozakiewicz; Chancellery Under Repair"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The changes that have been made so far in the President's Chancellery give rise to rumors of the next personnel changes in Lech Walesa's entourage. The greatest emotions are certainly whipped up by Mieczyslaw Wachowski. However, there has recently been more talk about the possible resignation of Andrzej Kozakiewicz, one of the president's closest aides and his economic secretary.

Personnel changes in the chancellery began when the post of deputy minister in the Ministry of National Defense was taken over by Kozakiewicz's father-in-law, Jerzy Milewski, head of the presidential National Security Office [BBN]. After a short period of time, he gave up one of the offices he held: In June he no longer headed the BBN. To this post the president appointed Henryk Goryszewski, former vice president of the Christian-National Union [ZChN].

Another stage in the reconstruction of the chancellery occurred when Presidential Spokesman Andrzej Drzycimski was sent...

On a Long Vacation

Drzycimski was replaced by Leszek Spalinski. (Before that, offers were made to, among others, popular television journalists.)

Another stage was to be a change in the position of the chancellery's head: Janusz Ziolkowski had for some time declared his readiness to retire. Offers of assuming high offices in the chancellery were also made to leaders of rightist parties (the ZChN, for instance), and, allegedly, leaders of the Freedom Union. However, everyone who was ready to cooperate with the president most probably first asked about the future career of Mieczyslaw Wachowski.

The president has so far been rejecting the possibility of recalling his closest aide. He has called him the "goalkeeper," standing guard over the entrance to the Belweder.

Mieczyslaw Wachowski is believed to make public statements only when he feels threatened. That was the case when, for example, he was interrogated by a Sejm committee about the so-called Parys case. The fact that...

The Minister of State

...has been recently making statements unusually often (even a television talk show with his participation is planned) might suggest that this time Walesa's aide-de-camp feels quite threatened.

The resignation of Andrzej Kozakiewicz, however, is mentioned more often than the resignation of Wachowski. It is worth recalling that Kozakiewicz is the economic secretary, the deputy director of Walesa's office (he is the deputy of Mieczyslaw Wachowski), and an under secretary of state in the chancellery, responsible for the work of the Administrative-Technical Board and the Financial Team. Kozakiewicz, 37 years old, is considered to be one of the best people in Walesa's entourage. His colleagues praise him for his intelligence, excellent memory, and knowledge of several foreign languages. Kozakiewicz likes playing "the strong man": When he gave an interview to WPROST, he let the weekly publish a photograph that showed him sitting with his feet up on a table. Kozakiewicz was persuaded by Jacek Merkel to cooperate with Walesa. When Merkel left, however, Kozakiewicz stayed with Walesa. He was considered the author or one of the authors of the main economic ideas presented by the Belweder, such as the concept of "great privatization" (that is, "100 million zlotys [Z] for everyone" and "Z300 million for everyone").

The activities of Andrzej Kozakiewicz also meant...

The Creation of Political Backing

...for Walesa. He was one of the founders of the Nonparty Bloc in Support of Reforms, and, after the last election, he tried to win part of the right wing over to Walesa. And his initiative consultation meetings were held several months ago with young right-wing activists. Romuald Szeremietiew was invited to Kozakiewicz's partially private name-day party. However, no decisions were made then.

The subject of Andrzej Kozakiewicz's possible departure from the chancellery is discussed today in the context of the statements by his father-in-law, who was against Walesa in the dispute between Defense Minister Piotr Kolodziejczyk and the president. The press carried reports that Kozakiewicz's recall is forced by Wachowski, who feels threatened by his deputy. However, this does not seem very likely—the positions of both politicians are incomparable.

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Walesa Strategy Promises 'Tough Campaign'

WS1910124594 Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish 15 Oct 94 p 3

[Article by Janina Paradowska and Wieslaw Wladyka: "My Name Is President"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Without a doubt, Lech Walesa wants what is best for Poland. And the best thing that can happen to Poland is Lech Walesa's second term in office. He is deeply convinced that, just as Pilsudski once did, he now has to take historic responsibility because no one else is mature enough to meet the challenges or match him. History does have to be helped along a little. Such is the aim of a complex and heated election campaign, which the current president has already launched.

Conflicts with the National Broadcasting Council [KRRiTV] and the Army, rapprochement with Solidarity, flirting with the right... Does this point to any underlying concept for the coming campaign?

Let us examine the president's latest moves more closely.

The KRRiTV: Justice Has To Be on Our Side

What was Walesa after when he provoked the embarrassing squabbles within the KRRiTV? Let us start by rejecting the pompous legal argument of Minister [as published] Lech Falandysz, which, judging by the cynical smile on the Belweder lawyer's face, he himself does not find credible. Because the legal status quo has been upset to such a degree that even the ombudsman is helpless, claiming that "this battle seems to have been lost for the time being" (lost for a legitimate state, that is), one has to wonder what political benefits the president expects to gain from the chaos he created. No obvious benefits are visible as yet. Popular opinion has it that Walesa wants direct control over television because "He who controls television has power." This theory, however, is difficult to defend. Even by placing his people in the KRRiTV, he is unable to recall President [of Polish Television] Walendziak. The appropriate minister could do so as owner of the company, but it is highly improbable that the coalition and the government will make a concession to the president. They would rather, were it within their power, play for the whole lot themselves, as draft amendments to the broadcasting bill seem to indicate. Meanwhile, speculation that Walesa is after Walendziak's head strengthen the foothold of the head of television. Recent examples such as the suspension of Jacek Bochenek, head of the Television News Agency, in his duties for alleged submissiveness to Janusz Zaorski or the refusal to broadcast Lech Walesa's meeting with Solidarity in Mielec indicate that public television is more against than supportive of Walesa.

Perhaps the issue is about securing a license for a private broadcaster who will declare his loyalty to the Belweder? The maneuvers regarding Canal Plus seem to confirm this suspicion. The ultimate outcome, however, is questionable. The president currently has six—let us say five (given that Jan Szafraniec will break away from the unanimous group)—council members who oppose him. This is a majority, which will be very watchful whether the president is behind any of the applications. President Zaorski does not have the authority to make licensing decisions on his own. He may, at most, paralyze the remaining council members. It thus seems probable that two groups within the council will keep each other in check, but this will not bring the president any immediate profit. Unless—and this is sheer speculation—a further "falandization" of the law takes place, and, for instance, the chairman of the KRRiTV grants licenses illegally (or semilegally). This, of course, would be a strike violation, an action without legal grounds, but, in such a case, Zaorski would definitely not be recalled, and the neopirate could broadcast. In a normal country, such speculations would be preposterous, but developments over the past few weeks show that nearly anything is possible.

It is difficult to exclude the following scenario: The president considers striking a deal with the coalition, which is also dissatisfied with public television (hence the suggestion made to the speaker of the Sejm that the Sejm and the Senate should have authority to dismiss council members). At some point, the presidential council members make peace with the deputies and slice the broadcasting cake along political lines. Today it seems that the largest political profit the president could derive from the battle over the KRRiTV would be a trial before the State Tribunal. Not without reason, the president's strongest opponents claim that the issue at hand is not serious enough to appeal to the Commission of Constitutional Rights. "The president has to be resisted, but you cannot give him presents for his campaign," say politicians.

Drawsko: Portrait With the Army

The dispute over powers of the General Staff and how presidential command over the Army is to manifest itself in practice is nothing new. It has been going on for a long time, and one may only regret that successive governments have not taken any legislative initiative in this respect, resorting merely to provisions of the Small Constitution that give the president authority to appoint the head of the General Staff. However, a substantial debate is quite different from the vote of confidence in the minister held at the range in Drawsko in the president's presence. It verged on a revolt by the generals.

Are the events that took place in Drawsko a prelude to the introduction of antidemocratic solutions using the Army? Speculation that the president is preparing a coup d'etat is absurd. No relatively experienced politician considers such a theory likely, although it has been a cause for excitement at lower party levels. The atmosphere in Drawsko is, however, suggestive of the election campaign. It is not the first time the president has

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appealed to the Army going into the election. He did so before the parliamentary election, and it was no coincidence that representatives of the military dominated lists of the Nonparty Bloc in Support of Reforms. Fortunately, they did not come through, protecting the Army from direct involvement in political battles.

What are the campaign profits Lech Walesa can gain by supporting a group of generals, which does not necessarily have to secure him with several hundred thousand votes from the military and its families? Just as in the case of the KRRiTV, it seems that the benefits are not that great. Of course, the Army enjoys wide public support, and all polls show it ranks high on a list of institutions trusted by the nation. However, this does not mean that Lech Walesa, as the fairy godfather of the Army, concerned for its needs, posing for pictures in battle dress, will gain, to use the president's own words, positive pluses. It is also difficult to imagine the Army taking an active part in the election campaign. The military base thus seems to be rather a backdrop for propaganda pictures of a "president for all Poles," according to the model Pilsudski once set but which is more of a caricature. One way or another, the authority of the civilian administration of the Ministry of National Defense [MON] has been undermined. The fact that Admiral Piotr Kolodziejczyk remains minister, owing to the support of parliament, gives new room for conflict between the coalition and the government. And it is not a field from which the president will reap a rich harvest.

Solidarity: Left Hand on Right Foot

A picture with the Army in the background is not sufficient for success in the campaign. Lech Walesa became a "president for all Poles" without any supporting political camp or any significant faction in parliament on which to rely. The fact that political camps are in the process of formation, that they differ not only in regard to programs but also in historical divisions which are further widened by parlor-style politics and dominated by personal animosity and discord, has allowed him to sail along in the midst of the strangest political systems. A political base and relatively efficient party structures are vital in a campaign. The nomination of Henryk Goryszewski as head of the State Security Office was widely interpreted as the first step toward establishing precampaign cooperation with rightist groups. Speculation on appointing Romuald Szeremietiew from the Movement for the Republic [RdR] as head of MON arose in the same context. The largest scandal was a declaration by Szeremietiew, one of the founding fathers of the RdR (the most radical anticommunist opposition group, conjuring visions of communism making a comeback in Poland), in which he expressed his readiness to join Waldemar Pawlak's government because it really was a government for the Republic. The announcement disturbed remaining leaders of the Alliance, who threatened Szeremietiew with retaliation. The president is very likely to succeed in breaking up newly emerging coalitions and make it difficult to come forth with one joint candidate. It is highly improbable that he will gain the support of rightist groups, the political importance of which should not be overestimated.

Currently, Solidarity remains the sole organized force to offer campaign support of any significance on that side of the political spectrum that Walesa desires and to which he might appeal. Therefore, it does not seem unnatural that the president is attempting to court, albeit with poor results, the very Solidarity that, until recently, was no longer his Solidarity and that he frequently advised to roll up its old banners. Today this is the most bizarre of flirtations. The claims provided for in the Solidarity program have nothing in common with the image of a protector of market reforms that the president always has and still seems to maintain. The draft constitution developed by Solidarity, which is to become the focal point of a struggle with the governing coalition, reduces the presidential functions to purely ornamental, which is drastically different from the vision Lech Walesa holds of the Presidency. The chances that this alliance would work seem slim.

An attempt at reconstructing the post-Solidarity camp may be made only by waging war with the present government, and this is what Lech Walesa has done at the Solidarity congress. "The left leg has grown too big."

There is visible public demand for reconstructing the Solidarity camp. In a poll conducted by the Public Opinion Research Center, 42 percent of respondents stated that they would like such a camp to reappear so as to prevent postcommunists from winning the presidential election. From his own point of view, therefore, Walesa is playing his cards right. From the point of view of a rational transformation of the political scene, this is harmful. He is strengthening traditional divisions, reversing political debates to the past, and may cause any rational centrist groups to disappear for a long time, leaving us stuck in an increasingly anachronistic political division.

Revolution for Kwasniewski, Reform for Pawlak

It is in the interests of the president to spread the belief that Kwasniewski and Pawlak, his two strongest rivals, are full-blooded communists and have thus no historical right to the heritage of the "first" Solidarity, which is, as we know, the fabric of regained freedom. Communism is manifested in two ways. In the case of Kwasniewski, it is innate. If it turns out that Walesa runs against the leader of the Democratic Left Alliance, Poland would have to choose between, let us say, Pilsudski and Stalin, between Solidarity and the Polish United Workers Party, between Europe and Russia. And so forth. It is easy to predict other comparisons of concepts, symbols, and values. The nation should unite to repel the threat of communism. A revolution should be staged to prevent the return of communism, as Walesa explicitly encouraged Solidarity at the recent congress.

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"Pawlak's communism" is different; the issue is much more intricate and sensitive. Pawlak poses a larger threat to Walesa than Kwasniewski because he has a real chance of taking over a huge part of the president's constituency: Christians, nationalists, populists, and, as polls indicate, the poorly educated. Of course, one may criticize him for his United Peasant Party origins, making him a descendant of the Polish People's Republic, but this will not suffice. Pawlak's communism is best illustrated by his antireform government policy. That is why, at the Solidarity congress, Lech Walesa, apart from calling for "revolution," called also for reform, which was equally important from the point of view of propaganda. The reason for his doing so is that the government is trying to slow down the pace of necessary reforms, stands in the way of vital national interests, and aims at restoring the old regime. There really are grounds for criticism. The president is becoming more and more impatient with every passing hour: One cannot advance anything in this country under the current government; enough is enough; I cannot watch Poland perish. Thus, "revolution" for Kwasniewski, "reform" for Pawlak.

The situation will be more favorable for Lech Walesa once Kwasniewski and Pawlak, exhausted by the negative campaign, replace their own candidacies with two proteges. This is what they should do. Then the trial would be easier for everyone. Its scenario would also change. The slogans of revolution and reform would disappear, at least from the front line, to be replaced by new ones—to suit the opposing candidate. They would be different for Strzembosz, different for Kuron, and different yet for Struzik. Depending on who is the main contender. We got to know Walesa for his ability to fight under different banners and on various fronts in 1990.

One must not forget that the presidential election is general and differs fundamentally from the parliamentary one. An individual is voted for, and very often his appearance, his way of speaking or keeping silent, are far more important than so-called programs and ideologies. Lech Walesa is experienced in this field and knows very well that intellectual style is not a prerequisite for success. On the contrary, it may be an obstacle on the path to victory. Many rivals will not want to remain on the same level of, let us call it political discourse, as the president chooses and imposes. Many of them may just as well back out in fear of the dirty laundry that awaits them. The water is already running, detergent has been poured, electricity cables are red hot and the washing program, tumble-drying included, is set at "ready."

Several Conclusions...

...may be drawn after the opening scene of the election campaign we have already witnessed:

—Lech Walesa, ignoring the fact that the public does not approve of his "meddling" in politics (as indicated by polls), will now become very active and stir up new conflicts, primarily with the government, the chosen ministries, the high officials, institutions, and—of course—parliament. No one will comprehend the goings on or what the benefits to the president might be, but this type of pressure will give him greater profits of a more general nature. He will become a statesman who watches everyone's hands, worries about everything, and, even if he is not always right, he is at least partly right. He will certainly be able to strike several deals in this chaos. The government would make several concessions here and there. The Sejm would loosen its grip, television would refrain from criticism...

—Tolerance of legal precedents created by Walesa may provoke repeating them on a larger scale. Is it truly unlikely that Walesa might resolve the parliament when it tries to pass the budget? He could refuse to sign it because it would not divert adequate means to, for instance, tightening state security (for which the president is constitutionally responsible), and Professor Falandysz would offer a neat explanation. Then the game would begin to be played according to new rules, and all of the opposing candidates would be reduced to leaders of conflicting parties that primarily desired seats in parliament. Once again Lech Walesa would prove to be a president for all Poles, way above divisions.

—To our belief, the president has no coherent vision of the campaign. He simply assumes that opponents should be attacked early on, led toward adopting certain strategies, and time will show what the aims and means of eventual maneuvers will be.

—Until it is necessary, Walesa will attempt to reconstruct a bipolar political system: the post-Solidarity camp he will naturally lead and the postcommunists he will oppose.

—Lech Walesa may become "a lone fighter against everyone." Against postcommunists but also against those former friends from the old opposition who covet the throne of the Republic. The postcommunist camp would help him defeat Kwasniewski and Pawlak, but it is not to be established for the aim of appointing any serious candidate other than Walesa. He will need to evoke, at a later stage, quarrels and divisions, inflate ambitions, and make hollow promises. "I may not be the best president, but anyone else would have been worse."

"I am independent and self-governed, and my name is president," Walesa recently said. This declaration says a lot. The function befits Walesa like a name. Therefore any other candidate is not only a rival, but also a usurper. This forebodes a tough campaign, which will cost everyone dearly.

Daily: Drawsko Meeting May Have Been Recorded

WS1910141694 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 19 Oct 94 p 3

[Article by (pw); last paragraph signed by (krzem): "Is There an Audio Recording of the Drawsko Session? The Time for Wilecki Has Come"]

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[FBIS Translated Text] This morning, the Sejm subcommittee investigating the causes of the crisis in the National Defense Ministry [MON] will hear General Tadeusz Wilecki, head of the General Staff, and his deputies. The general is to present his version of the events at the Drawsko training field. He will also respond to charges leveled at him by Minister Piotr Kolodziejczyk.

Among them are accusations of stopping the reform of the staff, setting up the establishments of inspectors of Armed Forces training, independent of the civilian section of MON.

Minister Kolodziejczyk also presented the subcommittee with a letter by Silesian Military District head Janusz Ornatowski, which was highly critical of the minister and which was sent to the president and the speakers of the Sejm and the Senate. Then Kolodziejczyk requested punishment of the general because he had bypassed the official path. Wilecki did not carry out the order. Our information suggests that, in Drawsko, General Ornatowski was one of those who criticized the civilian minister the strongest. He argued, among other things, that some of the information Kolodziejczyk was giving to Sejm deputies was a military secret.

"Gen. Wilecki is prepared to refute all of the allegations and to present his arguments," GAZETA WYBORCZA learned yesterday from Major Colonel Zdzislaw Czekierda, Wilecki's press spokesman.

Meanwhile, there appeared rumors in the General Staff that there exists an audio recording of the speech by Lech Walesa in Drawsko and of part of the discussion with the generals. Playing the tape might actually provide answers to the fundamental question posed by the committee: How was the president's question formulated?

"There already were so many provocations in the Drawsko case that I am not afraid of another one," said Czekierda, who is convinced that none of the generals had a tape recorder with him.

MON Press Spokesman Janusz Grochowski says that the civilian ministry also does not have such a recording.

"If such a recording really existed, we would certainly have presented it to the committee," he said.

Tomorrow the committee will hear Gen. Wilecki as well as other participants at the Drawsko dinner: the general's deputies. They will probably include: General Edward Bolociuch, General Leon Komornicki, and General Zbigniew Zalewski. The last one, according to our information, did not vote in favor of recalling Kolodziejczyk.

If the testimonies of both parties to the dispute on the Drawsko case turn out to be contrary, some deputies (Tomasz Nalecz, for instance) want to interrogate Minister Wachowski or Bishop Slawoj Leszek Glodz, who, as a general, is also subject to military discipline.

* * *

Asked after his meeting with Portuguese President Mario Soares by a Portuguese journalist whether the possible removal of the civilian defense minister would not stand in the way of Poland's entry into NATO, Walesa replied: "It is not a removal. We do have problems, but we will certainly always have a civilian minister of defense."

Pawlak To Refuse Resignation of Police Chief

WS1910131294 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 19 Oct 94 p 1

[Article by "(kes, jach)": "Return of Smolarek"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Prime Minister Pawlak has decided not to sign the resignation request from Police Chief Zenon Smolarek and not to appoint anybody else to this post. He wants Smolarek to continue to head the police, we learned yesterday unofficially from two independent sources.

In line with our information, the prime minister decided to keep Smolarek in this post because Jan Naparty, the only candidate approved by both the Ministry of Internal Affairs [MSW] and the prime minister, categorically refused to accept the offer.

"The MSW political advisory committee is convening on Thursday and is supposed to issue an opinion on the new candidate for police chief. Something may still change, but, as things stand today, the prime minister is planning to let the committee know that there will not be any new police chief. The services are to be headed by Smolarek," our interlocutor said.

Prime Minister's Press Assistant Ewa Wachowicz said: "I am neither confirming nor denying this."

It is worth recalling that Smolarek tendered his resignation in mid-August, which was linked to the investigation aimed at elucidating ties between the functionary of the Poznan police and dishonest businessmen, sponsors of the police. GAZETA WYBORCZA revealed them in the article entitled "Corruption in the Poznan Police," published in March. Smolarek's resignation, accepted by the MSW head and by his advisory committee, has for two months been waiting only for the prime minister's signature.

Smolarek Staying On as Chief

WS2010104894 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 20 Oct 94 p 1

[Article by Bogna Swiatkowska: "Recycled Commandant; That Is, Smolarek Heads Police Again"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] The fact that Zenon Smolarek will remain head of the police was communicated to all of the voivodship police chiefs and to Smolarek himself

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only yesterday afternoon by Prime Minister Pawlak and Internal Affairs Minister Andrzej Milczanowski.

"There will be no change in the post of police head." That is how the prime minister's decision, which he presented to the police leadership during yesterday's visit to police Main Headquarters, was summarized to us. The prime minister also obliged Smolarek to fulfill the duties of police chief.

Minister Milczanowski reportedly backed up the prime minister's decision and said that he had been convinced of Smolarek's innocence all along. [passage omitted]

"I have done everything to make sure that a more effective system comes into force. I cannot do anything more in this area. Our law is such as it is." This is how Lech Walesa commented on the fact that Smolarek had been left in the post of police chief.

Right Group Wants 'Constitutional Refusal Front'

LD1910145394 Warsaw PAP in Polish 1258 GMT 19 Oct 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Warsaw, 19 Oct—The Secretariat of Center-Right Groupings [SUC] favors a "constitutional refusal front" against the present political arrangement. Andrzej Anusz, the leader of the Polish Union [ZP], which is part of the secretariat, revealed on 19 October that "initial talks and soundings" on this matter have begun with other center-right groups, inter alia the Movement for the Republic [RDR] and the Party of Christian-Democrats [PChD].

The secretariat has proposed that these parties, among others, create a joint front on the issue of the Constitution. "We expect that the citizens' draft for the Constitution will not be submitted to a referendum," Anusz said at a news conference in Warsaw. "In this situation, we wish to create a constitutional refusal front against the present political arrangement," he added.

According to Anusz, participation in this front would be refused to the Freedom Union [UW], which in his view has come decisively closer to the Democratic Left Alliance [SLD]. Jan Parys, leader of the Third Republic Movement [RTR], said, "We wish to leave the door open to cooperation with the electorate resident in the countryside." The secretariat is counting on a favorable stance from the church.

In Parys's view, the paralysis affecting the state is demonstrated by the fact that not one of the main political conflicts in Poland has been resolved: on the nomination of a new chief of police, on the recall of members of the National Radio and Television Broadcasting Council, on privatization, on local government districts, on the leadership of the National Defense Ministry (soon, according to Parys, there will be a dispute about "clean hands"). "In all of these cases, the law is being broken. The government, the president, and parliament are mutually blocking each other," the RTR leader said.

According to the leaders of the particular groups composing the Secretariat, the RTR has a membership of 5,200, the Christian Democratic Labor Party has about 4,000-4,500, the Republican Confederation (a breakaway from the Liberal Democratic Congress) has approximately 400, and the Polish Union has about 1,000. Among those supporting the Secretariat is the Independent Self-Governing Trade Union [NSZZ] Solidarity.

List of Companies To Participate in PPP Signed

WS2010113494 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 20 Oct 94 p 1

[Article by "(han, wk)": "PPP Signed"]

[FBIS Translated Text] After five months of consideration, Prime Minister Pawlak finally signed the third and final list of enterprises that are to take part in the Program of Mass Privatization [PPP]. He crossed 16 enterprises off the list; some of them are protesting the decision. For the program to finally start, the prime minister must still make a few more decisions.

The prime minister's ordinance is dated 18 October, but it was announced only yesterday. In line with the statement on Tuesday by Waldemar Pawlak, the list of 460 enterprises that were to take part in the PPP will not include 16 companies that, according to Pawlak, are strategic to their industry branches and that represent a "bottleneck" in the production cycle.

However, according to officials of the Office of the Council of Ministers and the Privatization Ministry, the list of crossed-off enterprises is rather accidental. A similar opinion was expressed by deputies of the Sejm Budgetary Committee. "Nonetheless, it is good that some decision has finally been made," they add.

"The directors and the work force are both embittered because the prime minister has excluded us from the PPP," we learned from Romuald Mysliwiec, chairman of Solidarity in the Polish Grain-Processing Plant in Kutno. "We are going to forward an official protest to the prime minister."

For the program to get off the ground, the prime minister must also accept the composition of more than 10 supervisory boards of the National Investment Funds [NFI] that are to run the companies taking part in the PPP. The establishment of the boards will make it possible to register in a court of law the consortia that are to run the NFI. This is when the PPP may actually begin. The Privatization Ministry is hoping that this will happen in two months' time, at the latest.

Most probably it will be possible next year to buy via the NFI the so-called ownership certificates for 10 percent of the average wage. All adult citizens will be able to buy shares in these companies. The PPP also envisions the distribution of free, compensatory ownership certificates

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to senior citizens and to employees of the budget sector. This will probably happen in the second half of 1995.

Sejm Passes Economic Policy Guidelines

LD2010090894 Warsaw PAP in Polish 0811 GMT 20 Oct 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Warsaw, 20 Oct—Today, the Sejm passed the Socioeconomic Policy Guidelines for 1995. There were 200 votes for and 87 against, and 28 deputies abstained.

The guidelines envisage, among other things, that next year the gross national product [GNP] will increase by approximately 5 percent, with the inflation rate at 17 percent and the unemployment rate also at 17 percent. The budget deficit will amount to 3.3 percent of teh GNP. Exports are to increase by 7 percent and investment expenditure by about 8 percent.

National Bank Official on Redenomination of Zloty

LD1910152894 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 1300 GMT 19 Oct 94

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] The law on the redenomination of the zloty [Z] comes into force at midnight on 1 January, Krzysztof Barburski, deputy chairman of the Polish National Bank [NBP], said at a news conference in Warsaw. The operation will amount to knocking off four zeros. So, Z10,000 in the new currency will equal Z1. Nobody will lose anything or gain anything because of the redenomination, Barburski said.

Both the old and the new currency will be in circulation for two years. The new coins that will come into circulation at the beginning of the year are: one grosz [gr.], two gr., five gr., 10 gr., 20 gr., 50 gr., Z1, Z2, and Z5. Altogether, there will be nine coins. The new bank notes will be: Z10, Z20, Z50, Z100, and Z200. Both the new and the old money will be treated equally for two years. This means we will be able to make payments in both the new and the old currency. From the beginning of the new year, calculations will be made solely in the new currency, Barburski, the NBP deputy chairman, said.

[Begin Barburski recording] We do not envisage a situation where all of the money will be replaced over the counter at banks, a situation where customers will arrive at banks on 2 January, demanding that their money be exchanged. The law gives two years for a gradual replacement of the present bank notes with the new currency. There is no need to get upset and wait in lines. [passage omitted] [end recording]

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UNHCR To Maintain Aid Convoys Despite Attacks

AU1910143694 Paris AFP in English 1346 GMT 19 Oct 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Zagreb, Oct 19 (AFP)—The UN High Commissioner for Refugees plans to continue aid convoys for the civilian population in Bosnia despite attacks on relief supply vehicles, a UNHCR official said Wednesday.

UNHCR special envoy Nicholas Morris made the statement to AFP after a Bosnian truck driver was killed and another injured Tuesday in an attack on a UN relief convoy as it left the Moslem-held eastern enclave of Gorazde. A UN Protection Forces spokesman in Sarajevo said Tuesday that Serb gunners were responsible for the attack, but the Bosnian Serbs denied the charge saying the convoy had been caught in crossfire. Morris added that "as the effects of Serbian blockade of Bosnian Serbs are more visible, they see the UNHCR as a possible source of supplies."

Belgrade announced in August that it was severing links with the Bosnian Serbs amid mounting pressure on the community to accept an international peace plan for Bosnia.

Morris expressed concern about the difficulties in getting winter supplies through to Moslem enclaves because of Bosnian Serb intervention. He said that a UNHCR attempt to deliver winter coats to Gorazde school children was interrupted as the Serbs believed that the white coats "might be used as camouflage uniform for Bosnian soldiers." The major problem, he said, was the access to the Bosnian capital and eastern enclaves like Gorazde, Srebrenica, Zepa and the northwest pocket of Bihac cut off by rebel Serbs from Croatia.

Sarajevo receives more than 80 per cent of its aid from the UNHCR airlift, which has been interrupted several times over the past three months.

Commenting on rumours of a possible 50 percent cut in funds for the relief operation to former Yugoslavia next year, Morris expressed the hope that the political situation in Bosnia . ther than money problems might cut the cost from 250 million dollars this year to 200 million in 1995. "I am more optimistic now then a month ago because of the political context of the winter," Morris said.

He said that in the framework of its winter programme, the UNHCR had delivered throughout Bosnia nearly 150,000 square meters of plastic sheets to replace windows, 65,000 square meters of plywood, 5,300 stoves in addition to candles, blankets, sleeping bags, winter socks and underwear. But the Bosnian Serbs have demanded that 50 percent of the goods be brought into the city by road. The UNHCR rejected the demand and the Serbs threatened to stop all their operations, according to Morris.

Convoys to Srebrenica, Zepa

LD1910173994 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1613 GMT 19 Oct 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Oct. 19 (TANJUG)—The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees office in Belgrade on Wednesday sent two aid convoys to the Muslim-held eastern Bosnian towns of Srebrenica and Zepa.

The Bosnian Serb news agency SRNA quoted the UNHCR as saying it had sent 48 tons of flour, milk for babies, edible oil, canned beef and clothing to Srebrenica and 41 tons of food and clothing to Zepa.

Bosnian Serb military sources in the eastern Bosnian town of Zvornik said that after a routine inspection of the convoy in the [words indistinct]. The sources said Bosnian Serb authorities had secured a safe and unimpeded passage of the convoys and said they did not know the reason for a seven-day suspension of international humanitarian aid deliveries by land.

SRNA said the UNHCR had also sent about 70 tons of aid to the citizens of the bosnian Serb towns of Bijeljina, Visegrad, Kalinovik and Srbinje (formerly called Foca) in eastern Bosnia.

Serbs Deny Attacking Aid Convoy Near Gorazde

LD1910174794 Sarajevo Radio Republike Srpske Program for Abroad in Serbo-Croatian 1645 GMT 19 Oct 94

[FBIS Translated Text] The main headquarters of the Srpska republic army last night issued a statement in response to the statement by UNHCR spokesman in Sarajevo Chris Janowski, quoted by some news agencies, that an UNHCR convoy was attacked near Gorazde. With no prior investigation, the UNPROFOR [UN Protection Forces] command for the former Bosnia-Herzegovina accused the Serbs of the incident and threatened air strikes against Srpska republic army positions.

The statement stresses that Muslim forces from the Osanica area, 10 km southwest of Gorazde, opened fire at Srpska republic army positions on the eastern bank of the Drina River while two Muslim vehicles were driving along the western bank. The Srpska army deployed on the eastern bank of the Drina River responded to Muslim fire with infantry weapons, so that the Muslim vehicles found themselves in the crossfire. UNPROFOR members positioned in Gorazde confirmed that they were Muslim—not UNHCR—vehicles, that they were not escorted by UNPROFOR and were moving along the demarcation line with no prior announcement, and that the incident took place outside the 3-km exclusion zone around Gorazde, the statement by the main headquarters of the Srpska republic army specifies.

In response to these harsh and unfounded accusations against the Serbs, the Srpska army main headquarters

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has sent a sharp protest to General Sir Michael Rose, the UNPROFOR commander for the former Bosnia-Herzegovina, the statement says in conclusion.

Ganic: Shooting at Civilians in Sarajevo Must End

AU1910210094 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 19 Oct 94

[FBIS Translated Text] In view of the situation that has arisen after the aggressor's army attacked the humanitarian convoy near Gorazde, Ejup Ganic, member of the Presidency of Bosnia-Herzegovina, made the following statement for Bosnia-Herzegovina Radio and Television:

[Begin Ganic recording] We are holding talks with UNPROFOR [UN Protection Forces] every day. The talks that were held yesterday were in a way burdened by the situation around Gorazde, because, as you know, the humanitarian convoy heading toward Gorazde was attacked. This made our talks somewhat more complicated.

Certain differences appeared regarding the implementation of the (?resolutions). However, we are (?prepared), as always, to respect all agreements, all resolutions, and everything that has been signed concerning the Sarajevo zone, and, of course, other regions.

The differences that emerged during the talks yesterday will be overcome. I hope and we expect Mr. Akashi to come here. He will join these talks so that we can solve these problems that have arisen. We insist that the shooting at civilians in Sarajevo stop, as this is one of the conditions for the overall stabilization of the situation in this region. [end recording]

UN Threatens Action To Break Serb Fuel Blockade

AU1910173094 Paris AFP in English 1709 GMT 19 Oct 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Sarajevo, Oct 19 (AFP)—UN forces in Bosnia threatened Bosnian Serbs Wednesday with "extremely strong action" if they do not immediately stop blocking fuel shipments to UN troops.

UN Protection Forces (UNPROFOR) spokesman for civilian affairs Thant Myint-U said that the restrictions imposed by the Serbs were "completely unacceptable, and will result in an extremely strong action from UNPROFOR if not immediately corrected." "The situation is reaching the point where our ability to carry out our operations is being threatened, particularly in the eastern (Moslem) enclaves," he told a press conference here. Myint-U did not specify what action UNPROFOR could take against the Serb forces, who control 70 percent of the territory of Bosnia-Herzegovnia.

The spokesman for UN Bosnia commander General Sir Michael Rose, Lieutenant-Colonel Tim Spicer, said that "at the moment, the response is protest, persuasion and discussion.... At this stage nothing further is being considered." But he warned: "Of course all options remain open."

Bosnian Serb forces have blocked transport convoys bringing fuel for Bosnian UN forces for the past several weeks. The eastern Bosnian enclaves of Srebrenica, Gorazde and Zepa have been rationing fuel, but only a few days of reserves remain, Myint-U said.

French To Remove UN Forces From Bihac

AU1910143494 Paris AFP in English 1359 GMT 19 Oct 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Zagreb, Oct 19 (AFP)—France, which is quietly reducing its military presence in the former Yugoslavia, will pull its remaining 250 peacekeepers out of the Bihac enclave in north-western Bosnia on Thursday [20 October].

Major Jean-Francois Philippe, commander of the troops, said on Wednesday that his men would be ending their perilous two-year mission on Thursday. That leaves about 3,500 French troops in the UN force in the former Yugoslavia as a whole, not counting Navy and Air Force personnel enforcing the UN embargo, military sources said in Paris. French deployment in ex-Yugoslavia had earlier totalled 6,000 men. The French are being replaced by 1,300 peacekeepers from Bangladesh who have a one-year mission in Bihac.

The French contingent in the Moslem enclave, which once totalled 1,280 men, has often been caught in fighting between opposing Moslem groups and between Moslems and Croatian Serbs. But its casualties have been light—two men shot dead and three killed in road accidents.

The pullout was first announced last May 18 by French Prime Minister Edouard Balladur, who spoke of his concern for the security of French forces, saying they were "too spread out and too vulnerable." The withdrawal began on October 4. Reached by telephone from Zagreb, Philippe said, "We are leaving with heavy hearts because we have spent so much time helping these poor people. We have learned to know and love them." In May, Balladur said. "If it proved impossible to restore peace, if other powers did not participate (in the peacekeeping effort), we would ask ourselves questions on the meaning and length of our commitment."

Sarajevo HDZ Calls For UN Administration

AU1910170894 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 19 Oct 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Proceeding from the position that Sarajevo citizens have reached the limit of their endurance in their life in the city, that they are in fact living in a camp without electricity, water, natural gas, food, and communications, the City Committee of the

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Croatian Democratic Community [HDZ] of Sarajevo issued an announcement today in which it proposes basic guidelines for solving the status of the city of Sarajevo.

It is said in the announcement that Sarajevo, the capital city of the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina, should, in the shortest period possible, be put under international UN management even in the transition period [word indistinct] and thereby make it possible for its citizens to live a normal life [words indistinct] (?communications). The HDZ City Committee of Sarajevo is of the opinion that parliamentary parties in the city should form a joint body at the Sarajevo City Assembly session. This body would prepare a proposal of the city's political status in the transitory period.

Former UN Commander: Muslims Exempt From Embargo

LD1910131394 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1242 GMT 19 Oct 94

["Pool" item]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, 19 Oct. (TANJUG)—First U.N. commander in Bosnia said Wednesday the Bosnian Muslims have long ago practically been exempt from the arms embargo. In an interview to the Bosnian Serb news agency SRNA, Gen. Lewis McKenzie of Canada, said Bosnian Muslims last year alone imported weapons worth over 2 billion dollars.

The U.N. in late September 1991 imposed an arms embargo for the entire territory of the former six-member Yugoslav Federation. Although the ban had not been observed in practice in the former Yugoslav Republics of Slovenia, Croatia and the Bosnian territory under Muslim control, the U.S. was of late very active towards having the Sarajevo Muslim government formally exempted from it.

Gen. McKenzie said the embargo was full of holes, particularly after restoration of the coalition between the Croats and Muslims which enabled opening of routes for arms transports. He was U.N. forces commander for Bosnia from March to August 1992.

He said formal exemption would lead to intensified violence as the first thing the Bosnian Serbs would then do was to launch a massive offensive designed to decide the war before the new weapons could be used. He said he hoped the U.N. Security Council would condemn the refusal of the Muslim forces to leave the demilitarized zone on Mt Igman.

The Bosnian Serb military has set an ultimatum to the Muslim side to withdraw their forces from Mt Igman and Mt Bjelasnica, both southwest of Sarajevo, and hand them over to the U.N. forces by Oct. 20. The Bosnian Serb top handed over these two strategically important mountains to the U.N. forces in August last year.

The Canadian general said the massacre the Muslims committed against 17 Serb troops and three nurses on Mt Igman on Oct. 6 could in no way be treated as part of war operations, as claimed by the U.N., since the Muslims had to cross through the demilitarized zone and thus violated the agreement. This act by Muslim forces, however, failed to be condemned in the Security Council for which reason Russia protested and said double standards were not acceptable in the Security Council.

Gen. McKenzie believes the U.N. forces would be unable to forcibly remove the demilitarized zone because the current U.N. commander, Gen. Michael Rose, would not be in a position to muster enough troops in the field.

NATO air strikes, in his view, had no sense because they could be counter-productive if there were not enough U.N. forces to take the bombed territory between the Serbian and Muslim forces. He said he believes decisions on possible air strikes should be made by Gen. Rose as he is best informed about the risk such an operation involved and was responsible for the lives of his 20,000 troops which would be at risk.

Asked about the Muslim government criticism aimed at Gen. Rose, Gen. McKenzie said the current U.N. commander in Bosnia has become unpopular in Sarajevo when he tried to be objective on some issues. He said that when Gen. Rose arrived in Bosnia, the Muslims had been enjoying military support in air and on land and at that time he was very popular in Sarajevo. But, when he tried to be neutral on some issues and take decisions also against the Muslim government, things had changed and his removal was demanded, said Gen. McKenzie in the interview to SRNA.

Vares Communique on Croat-Muslim Relations

AU1910212394 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 19 Oct 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Following the constant spreading of untruths and disinformation about the life of Croats in Vares Municipality, the presidency of this municipality today issued a statement for the public, which says, among other things, the following:

The untruths about the life of Croats in Vares have found a place in many media in Croatia and some Western countries. The intensive media campaign aimed against the organs of the Vares municipalities has reached such proportions that an attempt is even being made to involve members of UNPROFOR [UN Protection Forces], European observers, humanitarian organizations, and other international factors in this matter and, thus, deceive them.

We hold the view that this behavior is totally unacceptable and dangerous, and from the point of view of the implementation of the Constitution of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation, even very destructive, and

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intent to continue developing the overall relations between the Croats and the Muslims.

Therefore, we appeal to all organs and leaderships of Croats in the Vares municipality and beyond to approach this problem as sensible people, to be aware of their historic responsibility, and truly place themselves in the service of rapprochement of the Croatian and Muslim peoples, which represents the fundamental preconditions for the implementation of the Constitution of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation.

This was stated, among other things, in a communique issued by the Presidency of the Vares Municipality.

Radio Cited on Increased Croat-Muslim Tension

LD1910215794 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2122 GMT 19 Oct 94

["Pool" item]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Oct. 19 (TANJUG)—Muslims closed all roads in central Bosnia after Croats banned the passage of humanitarian convoys for Muslims in northeastern Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Muslim Radio Zenica said Wednesday, as carried by the Bosnian Serb news agency SRNA, that the Muslim military authorities of this town located 40 km northwest of Sarajevo had informed [word indistinct] that the roads would remain closed until they allowed the convoys to pass. Scheduled convoys from Norway and the Netherlands for Gradacac, Gracanica and Teocak, towns northeast of Zenica, have been cancelled because of this blockade.

After a year of fierce fighting for power in territories with mixed populations, Bosnian Muslims and Croats signed an agreement on a federation in Washington in March this year, under pressure from the United States. More than six months have passed, but the binational federation has not even started to function.

Muslim Radio Mostar also said relations between Muslims and Croats were tense. The mayor of the Muslim sector of this, the biggest city and administrative seat of the region of Herzegovina, was not allowed to enter the Croat, west, part of the city Tuesday with Federal Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic and Interior Minister Bakir Alispahic. The radio also said deputy interior minister, Croat Jozo Leotar, threatened Mayor Safet Orucevic that he would be "arrested if he crosses into the Croat part of the city." The absurdity is that top federation officials include Croats who imagine that Mostar will be the capital of the Croat para-state of Herzeg-Bosna, even though Croats gave up this state when they signed the Washington agreement, the radio said.

The aggravation of Muslim-Croat relations was also stoked by the Bosnian Croat decision to form a Croat municipality of Brcko in northern Bosnia-Herzegovina. Condemning the decision, the local Muslim radio Wednesday accused Croats that they were reneging on the agreement that a canton of Tuzla would be established in that area. This is a direct violation of the regulations of the Muslim-Croat agreement on the constituting of power, the local Muslim radio said.

The increasingly serious problems of the binational federation, which exists formally rather than in [words indistinct] was also confirmed by Croat Radio Herceg-Bosna. The radio commented on a meeting of Muslim and Croat military representatives in Gornji Vakuf, 40 km west of Sarajevo, on Tuesday, who were to discuss an end to Muslim-Croat clashes in the area. Radio Herceg-Bosna said each side blamed the other for causing armed clashes around Bugojno and Gornji Vakuf, and said the Muslims were arrogant and unrelenting.

Threatening that they will have to talk to Muslims with "arms only" Radio Herceg-Bosna concluded that there was no agreement on a normalization of Muslim-Croat relations, as planned, because "Muslims continue to build up their troops in that area."

Karadzic: Europe Supports Bosnian Serb Victory

AU2010114594 Paris AFP in English 2139 GMT 20 Oct 94

[FBIS Transcribed Excerpt] Belgrade, Oct 19 (AFP)—Europe does not want the Serbs to lose the war in Bosnia, the Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic claimed Wednesday, according to the Bosnian Serb news agency SRNA.

Karadzic, talking in the Bosnian Serb-held town of Nova Topola, said that "no European nation, not even Germany, wants the Serbs to lose the war in Bosnia-Hercegovina, especially not against the Moslems."

He said it was becoming more and more evident that the international community was looking for a compromise solution. His first choice remained unification with Serbia, he said, followed by a merger with the rump Yugoslavia, consisting of Serbia and Montenegro. The third choice was total independence, Karadzic said. [passage omitted]

Krajisnik: 'Favorable Winds' Out of Belgrade

AU1910144494 Belgrade VECERNJE NOVOSTI in Serbo-Croatian 19 Oct 94 p 4

[Unattributed report: "Gradually Will Do"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Momcilo Krajisnik, chairman of the Srpska republic assembly, has stated that one could accept the proposal by the international community on "a gradual creation of a unified Serbian state."

"If the unified Serbian state has to be achieved gradually, in stages, then this proposal by the international community can be accepted, but only as a compromise toward the final solution," Krajisnik explained for Serb radio and television in Banja Luka.

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The chairman of the Srpska republic assembly stressed that "we have to insist on the creation of a unified Serbian state, despite pressures from the international community, and the German-Turkish block to find the global solution to the Yugoslav crisis at our expense."

"I am also bothered by the fact that some Serbs serve the schemes of the international powers by saying that we are creating a greater Serbia," Krajisnik said, adding that "a unified Serbian state is being created for which the Serb people west of the Drina are suffering incredible sacrifices."

Commenting on the blockade that the FRY imposed on the Srpska republic, Krajisnik stressed that, "despite the initial shock, the Srpska republic government had managed to undertake measures to make provisions for the Srpska republic army, and to consolidate the economy."

"I am convinced that our people will overcome this problem, and that this generation will achieve the historical need of the Serbs to live in one country. I am convinced that the international community will have to recognize the Serb right to self-determination," Krajisnik stressed.

He assessed that "much more favorable winds are blowing from Belgrade," and added that "the mud-slinging and unrestrained words have been replaced by statements by prominent Serbs, which—apart from the apologetic and contrite tone—carry a much more realistic and rational attitude toward the situation in the former Bosnia-Herzegovina."

Croatian General: U.S. To Train Bosnian Army

AU2010111694 Paris AFP in English 2228 GMT 19 Oct 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Zagreb, Oct 19 (AFP)—US military experts are expected soon in Sarajevo to start training senior staff in the future army of the Moslem-Croat Federation of Bosnia-Hercegovina, Croatian army chief of staff General Janko Bobetko told AFP Wednesday.

A delegation of around 15 US Army officers, headed by retired General John Galvin, former supreme commander of the allied forces in Europe, would arrive in the Bosnian capital early next month, Bobetko said.

The experts "will undertake to educate the cadres of the Bosnian Croat-Moslem Federation army under the terms of the Washington agreement," the general said, referring to the March 18 treaty creating the federation signed by Bosnian and Croatian presidents Alija Izetbegovic and Franjo Tudjman and by Kresimir Zubak, representing the Bosnian Croats.

A Pentagon spokesman said the US Defense Department was unaware of any initiative of that type, while the State Department said General Galvin would not take part in any US delegation.

The Washington agreement brought to an end a year's fighting between Bosnia's Moslem and Croat communities, formerly allied against separatist Serbs who have seized control of 70 percent of Bosnian territory.

The federation remains fragile, despite the creation of a joint military command, with separate Croat and Moslem administrations remaining predominant in their respective areas.

Bugojno Municipal Council Elects Officials

AU1910214194 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 19 Oct 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Within the activity of establishing cantonal authorities at the municipal level, the Bugojno Transitory Municipal Council met today. In accordance with the commune's statutory decision, the council consists of 48 members—23 of whom are members of the Party of Democratic Action, 21 members of Croatian nationality, and two each from the Social Democratic Party and Reformist Forces Association. Members of Croatian nationality will join the work of the Bugojno Municipal Council when the conditions for the arrival of Croats in Bugojno have been created. Besim Hadzijusufovic was elected chairman of the Transitory Council and Dzevad Mlaco was elected temporary head of the Bugojno Community.

Velika Kladusa Assembly Elects Municipal Officials

AU1910221294 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 19 Oct 94

[FBIS Translated Text] The process of selecting cantonal authorities in the Bihac District is nearing an end. After Bihac and Cazin, a municipal assembly session was then held in Velika Kladusa according to the new Constitution. New authorities were elected and the 38-member municipal council constituted. The council elected Mujo Milak chairman. Sefik Stulanovic was elected head of the Velika Kladusa Commune. Five deputies to the assembly of the future Una-Sana Canton were also elected at the session.

Croat Bishop Describes Treatment of Catholics

AU1910123294 Split SLOBODNA DALMACIJA in Serbo-Croatian 3 Oct 94 p 4

[Interview with Franjo Komarica, the Roman Catholic bishop of Banja Luka, by Zdravka Soldic in Sarajevo; date not given: "Proud, Exiled, and Rejected"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Since the beginning of the war, almost the entire Banja Luka diocese has been held by the Serbs. Bishop Franjo Komarica is the only true fighter for the rights of the Croats on this territory, but he used to avoid talking about the situation in his diocese. However, his method of protecting the Croats in the Bosnian Krajina by not publicly accusing the Serbs failed. Two-thirds of the diocese population is in exile,

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and half of the remaining 25,000 Croats have applied to the UNHCR to move out. We asked Bishop Komarica about the position of the Croats living in his diocese.

[Komarica] It would take several issues of your newspaper for me to give you the full picture, so let me tell you what is most important. Most of my diocese is controlled by the Serbian authorities, except for the area around Livno, Bihac, and Velika Kladusa. And while the fighting is making the situation in the Bihac area rather precarious, the area of Livno is quite stable and without any major problems. The position of Catholics living in all the other towns and villages of the diocese is highly uncertain. More than 370 innocent, unarmed civilians have been killed in their homes or backyards. Ten times as many Croats have been abused, maltreated, injured, or simply driven insane. There are still individual attacks on Catholics, but far fewer than before. But their property is still being burned, razed, or damaged by explosives. Most Catholics lost their jobs a long time ago, in spite of the shortage of skilled workers. When they were fired, they were also deprived of the right to social welfare and health care. That was particularly hard for the people in the urban areas but we have managed to alleviate their misery to some extent in cooperation with Caritas [Roman Catholic charity]. The Croats have no political representation, either on the local level or on the level of the entire Bosnian Krajina. They really feel rejected and forgotten. We never tarnished the reputation of our own nation or our neighbors; we never did any harm to either the Muslims or the Serbs. It seems to be our "fault" that we want to continue living where our ancestors have lived for centuries. Can any normal person hold that against us? The ethnic cleansing scheme, that most inhuman and fascist act, is unfortunately working, thanks to the hypocritical behavior of local and international "democrats." Double genocide is at work in front of the very eyes of the local and international public. That brings discredit on European civilization. Regardless of our peaceful behavior, it seems that the Catholics from the Bosnian Krajina are doomed to extinction, although we are the oldest nation and the oldest religious community in this area. I do not believe that this is the will of God and will therefore continue to protect the basic human rights both of the Catholics and all people deprived of them.

Forced to the Front

[Soldic] You said that most Croats have been fired from their jobs. Can you give us some percentages?

[Komarica] Only a handful of Croats are still working. More than 99.9 percent of Croats have been fired. And they have been without work for two years. They are forced to work without pay, digging trenches. In some municipalities—Prijedor, Sipov, etc.—even women are forced to work.

[Soldic] Are Croats and Bosniaks being mobilized by the Srpska army?

[Komarica] They were at the beginning of the war. I personally talked to representatives of the Serbian civilian and military authorities pleading for the demobilization of those people. To my knowledge, some were demobilized, but most are still being forced to dig trenches at the front lines. There is compulsory labor duty for men age 16 to 65 in every municipality. When I talked to my people, I realized they did not mind the work, even though they were not even given any food, but could not stand being maltreated by the Serbs. When I complained to the Serbian authorities, both on the local and the higher level, demanding more humane treatment for the Croats, I was told that it was the [words indistinct] Croats most often.

[Soldic] How many churches have been destroyed or damaged in your diocese?

[Komarica] As you know, there has been no fighting on the territory of my diocese, except in a few parishes. Still, 48 percent of the parish and local churches have been destroyed, 25 percent of churches have been badly damaged, and 23 percent have suffered minor damage. Furthermore, 20 percent of other church buildings, monasteries, and parish priest's offices have also suffered damage. Some Serbian leaders told us that this was an attempt to destroy the heart of our catholicism and make people leave their homes. As a religious person, I condemn every act of violence against places of worship. Thank God my congregation have mostly refrained from such crimes.

Instructions From Pale

[Soldic] How do they treat the priests?

[Komarica] They have killed two of our priests and another was beaten to death.

[Soldic] The Sarajevo media have said that the Pale authorities issued instructions for the Banja Luka authorities to keep the non-Serbian population below 4 percent. Do you know about those instructions and do you know that the Bosnia-Herzegovina Government is demanding UN control over Banja Luka?

[Komarica] I have not heard about these instructions for the Banja Luka authorities, but it is obvious that people are being forced to leave Banja Luka. Croatian and Bosniak leaders must make more determined and concrete efforts to help those unfortunate people. They must have basic human rights, which include ethnic and religious rights. We must be more decisive in negotiations, not in armed conflicts.

[Soldic] Most of your diocese is not on the territory of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation. Does it have any chance of survival at all?

[Komarica] We have shown that we want and are capable of coexistence. Provided that our congregation is given basic human rights and freedom in accordance with European standards, we can expect that most of our

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people will want to stay in their homes.... For there is nothing more dear to one than one's home. Our refugees have often asked me to do everything to enable them to return to their homes. Furthermore, our Bosniak and Serbian neighbors need the Croats and Croatia, as they have told me many times. Anyway, more Serbs live on the territory of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation, and especially in the Republic of Croatia, than Croats on "their" territory. A dignified future can be provided, if there is the will, on the basis of reciprocity. And that will preserve our diocese. I cannot believe that any influential Croatian politician would want to see most of the Banja Luka diocese destroyed. Croatia can and must give us more protection. I do not fear that the remaining Croats will be sent into exile or that they will not be protected. The holy father and the Vatican encourage us to stay; we get support from other normal people in Europe and the world.

[Soldic] We are having this interview in Sarajevo. What do you think, when will it be possible for us to meet in Banja Luka?

[Komarica] I would be very happy to welcome you in my home in Banja Luka. I have tried many times to obtain permission from the Serbian authorities to have a visit from Croatian journalists. Unfortunately, they have refused every time. I pray to God that better days lie ahead for the humiliated, suffering, and forgotten people of my diocese.

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Tudjman: Force Must Back Political Arguments

LD1910205594 Zagreb HTV Television in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 19 Oct 94

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] President Tudjman today received high-ranking military officers and the commanders of the Poseidon '94 military exercise. [passage omitted]

[Unidentified correspondent] Croatian President Franjo Tudjman stressed that this exercise also showed that Croatia had the military might that can guarantee the realization of the justified demands for the reintegration of the occupied territories.

[Begin Tudjman recording] In the international, diplomatic, and political solving of the crisis of liberating Croatian occupied areas and the crisis in Bosnia-Herzegovina, and on the territory of the whole of Yugoslavia, as you know from history and from our times, political arguments, rights, and justice do not suffice. They need to be backed by force on which we can count. [end recording] [passage omitted]

[Begin General Janko Bobetko, chief of the general staff corps recording] I think that the exercises we held are a convincing demonstration that Croatia can count on a powerful segment of its sovereignty—the Croatian Army—and, when need be, we will be able to carry out our task. Thank you for your commendation and rest assured that we will do that. [end recording]

Granic Confirms Existence of 'Mini Contact Group'

LD1910152094 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1412 GMT 19 Oct 94

["Pool" item by Stevan Cordas]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Oct. 19 (TANJUG)—Croatian Foreign Minister Mate Granic Tuesday officially confirmed a "mini contact group" to deal with the issue of Croatian-Serb Krajina relations had been set up. Speaking at a Croatian parliamentary committee session Tuesday, Granic said the group had already outlined a plan to resolve the Zagreb-Knin dispute. The plan is to be made public within the next ten to fifteen days.

The group's existence was first hinted at in mid-September when the Croatian National Security Bureau Chief Hrvoje Sarinic said a draft plan on Zagreb-Knin relations was being worked out at the United Nations Protection Forces headquarters in Zagreb.

The group work was under a veil of secrecy. Therefore, it comes as no surprise that the group is given different names as the Zagreb group, or as the "Group Z-4" or just as "mini contact group".

The group is made up of four ambassadors—United States Ambassador Peter Galbraith, Russian Ambassador Leonid Kerestedzhiyants and two European Union ambassadors, (Geerd Ahrens) and (Kai Eide). The two European Union ambassadors, who are also assistants to the co-chairmen of International Conference on Former Yugoslavia.

Even though the group plan has not yet been presented, some details of the plan have, nevertheless, surfaced. The plan is reportedly aimed at "reintegrating Serb-controlled areas into Croatia's constitutional order" as well as having Yugoslavia recognize Croatia's independence.

Serbs in Croatia declared independence of the republic of Serb Krajina in 1991 following Croatia's unilateral secession from the former Yugoslav Federation and the subsequent removal of Serb national rights from the Croatian Constitution.

Unidentified sources contend that the mini contact group plan contains two items. The first one grants the "Serbs living in Croatia" the status of a constituent people, which is well beyond what the Croatian Constitution stipulates. The second item, as hinted, envisages two "Serb counties" - Knin and Banija with "special status", as well as two "Serb districts" in the Lika and Kordun regions. The plausibility of these claims is anyone's guess. One thing is certain though—direct negotiations between Zagreb and Knin have been effectively substituted with the setting up of the Z-4 group.

An earlier agreement which came to be known as the Zagreb agreement set the stage for direct negotiations between Croatia and Serb Krajina. The latest plan has prompted both Zagreb and Knin to voice certain reservations.

Croatia seems eager to merge the two plans—the Bosnian "Contact Group" plan and the one drawn up by the Z-4 group. As a matter of fact, Croatia would like to see the Bosnian crisis linked to the Krajina Serb-Croatian issue.

The scheme is more than obvious—to make lifting of the sanctions against Yugoslavia conditional on recognizing Croatia and, for that matter, Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Zagreb would like to kill two birds with one stone—Knin and Belgrade. Anyhow, the Croatian authorities show no will for compromise.

UK Envoy Upholds Croatia's Integrity

LD1910181294 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1628 GMT 19 Oct 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Knin, 19 Oct (TANJUG)—Gavin Hewitt, British ambassador to Croatia, said in Knin today that in its approach to the Krajina-Croatia conflict and Serbian-Croatian relations in general, Great Britain starts from the already known stance—the recognition of Croatia and the protection of its sovereignty in the internationally recognized AVNOJ [Antifascist Council of the National Liberation of Yugoslavia] borders.

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Ambassador Hewitt added to the statement for journalists—following talks with representatives of the authorities of the republic of Serb Krajina [RSK]—his own opinion that "the position of the Serb ethnic community in Croatia needs to be specifically defined." Commenting on the fact that Great Britain is not included in the so-called mini contact group which is searching for a solution to the Krajina-Croatia conflict, Hewitt said that his country "has the right to be informed in detail about various solutions concerning the rights of Serbs in Croatia." The responsibility for this, he underlined, lay with the international community, Russia and the United States in particular.

Hewitt added, however, that he ignored "what they talked about over there and what conclusions could be reached, regardless of our close contacts with the co-chairmen of the conference on former Yugoslavia and Russian and U.S. representatives, achieved within the Contact Group for former Yugoslavia.

Hewitt's discussion parterns, Radomir Kuzet, head of the RSK President's Office, and Assistant Interior Minister Aleksandar Draca, assessed today's talks as useful although, in their opinion, the whole thing was about "registering the official stand of the RSK."

"Today's talks were an opportunity to present RSK stands on the eve of any decisions the international community may adopt. We presented the British ambassador with all relevant facts—from the origin of the Croatian-Krajina war onward—which the Contact Group must have at its disposal if it is to adopt a just decision," Draca said.

RSK Favors Economic Cooperation With Croatia

LD1910121694 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1128 GMT 19 Oct 94

["Pool" item]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Podgorica, Oct. 19 (TANJUG)—Republic of Serb Krajina [RSK] Prime Minister Borislav Mikelic said Krajina was trying to establish economic cooperation with the former Yugoslav Republic of Croatia.

In an interview with the Podgorica daily POBJEDA on Wednesday, Mikelic said the better and more diverse the cooperation, the higher the chances for peace. He said Krajina fully observed the peace agreement with Croatia and called for lasting peace. He said it was for this reason that Krajina found the presence of United Nations troops not disturbing.

Serbs in Croatia declared the independent republic of Serb Krajina in 1991 after Croatia unilaterally seceded from the former Yugoslav Federation and removed the Serb national rights from the Croatian Constitution. Krajina was declared a U.N.-protected area in the spring of 1992, but Croatia has attacked it four times since in an attempt to enforce its rule there.

Mikelic said: "We understand that the international community no longer supports the war option whoever advocates it. We have, therefore, turned to ourselves and to production without neglecting our defense system for a minute." He said Krajina recorded a constant production rise which ensured improved living standards for its 430,000 inhabitants.

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State Election Commission Holds News Conference

AU1910152594 Skopje NOVA MAKEDONIJA in Macedonian 19 Oct 94 p 2

[Report by L. Kitanovska: "Information From 37 Election Stations Only"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Even 43 hours after the polls had closed, the State Election Commission has not yet issued any official results. After several postponements of the news conference, yesterday a meeting was held with journalists, where they were informed only about the results from 37 election stations. According to the information, out of 424,857 voters on the general election list, to which another 37,907 unregistered people were added after they had presented appropriate documents, the total number of those that voted is 330,195. Of the total votes, 304,131 votes were valid, while 26,064 were invalid.

The first results, although still incomplete and not definite even for the 37 mentioned election stations, are as follows: 67,283 votes for Ljubisa Georgievski, that is 14.55 percent; and 231,234 votes for Kiro Gligorov, that is 49.97 percent.

The vice president of the commission Vasil Petkovski was not able to answer the question as to when the final results would be published. The commission was unable to answer almost all questions raised by the domestic and foreign journalists. When he was asked why only 37 stations were encompassed in the analysis, Petkovski replied that data from other stations had not been received yet. Knowing that the deadline for handing over the election material after the closing of the polls was 18 hours, the question was whether the material that would be handed over after the deadline would be taken into consideration and whether the elections would be annulled. The answer was—the law does not foresee any conditions for the annulment of the elections.

The journalists wanted to know about the objections that had been raised about the legitimacy of the presidential and parliamentary candidates. The answer was that so far no such objections had arrived from any competent bodies, neither from the candidates nor from the voters. There had arrived "two to three, four or five objections from political subjects, but since the law does not recognize objections of this type, they will not be taken into consideration."

The answer to the question about the number of voters that went to the polls was without precedent. Petkovski replied that after the voting had ended and the polls had closed, they were no longer interested in the number of the voters, and such information could not be obtained from them, because all they were interested in were the results. When they were asked to explain why not, since the number of the votes is a condition for the legitimacy of the presidential elections, Petkovski replied—"that is what you yourselves think!"

Another question raised by the journalists was whether perhaps the postponement in giving the results does not mean that the whole matter is becoming political and that the commission, by keeping quiet, is involved in policy instead of performing its technical and professional duties. The answer was that there is no policy on this, and that is just what the journalists themselves thought. There were questions about numerous speculations concerning the resignation of the president of the commission Najdanov and some other members. The reply was that nobody had resigned and that there had not been any such discussions.

[Box, p 2]

Journalists—Unwelcome?

There was a question whether the work of the State Election Commission was kept secret from journalists. The answer was that their sessions were open to journalists and that they were allowed to attend them. Only half an hour before that the journalists presents were asked "not to cause problems" for the commission and not to come to the sessions. We could conclude what were the problems after the discussions we had attended. There were requests for the resignation of the president because of numerous violations of the law and the election rules, as well as the dissociation of some of its members with the work of the commission because, as they said, they "did not want to take the responsibility for other people's mistakes."

[Box, p 2]

The Commission—Under the Level

The State Election Commission represents a kind of a theater cue in the whole situation concerning the elections. It was demonstrated that this high electoral body is the least informed on the situation in the field, and there were moments during the news conference when the commission was informed by the journalists about some events in the polling stations. Yesterday was the second day after the end of the first round of the elections, and the mass media were already informing about unofficial results of the elections, while the commission was postponing the news conference explaining that it did not have complete data from all stations, although they were supposed to get them by Monday at 1300. The behavior of the judges of the commission was absolutely unacceptable during the meetings with the domestic and foreign journalists, and some replies caused laughter among the representatives of the mass media. The commission gave some illegible answers, or they were arrogant in addressing the journalists, advising them to read the laws by themselves. In general, there was an unpleasant impression that the commission was incapable and unprofessional in doing its job.

The second most characteristic point in the elections was what was happening with the election lists in some stations, and that it was the duty of the Ministry for

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Administration and of the Republican Department for Statistics to prepare the lists. It will be necessary to explain why some voters were omitted from the election post list, while their names were on the general one, if we know that the first is done on the basis of the second. It will also have to be explained why invitations were not handed in and by what criteria the election posts were redirected without previously informing the voters. All these questions need an answer because the elections are not over yet and the second round is expected in 10 days.

Further on Election Results

AU1910211894 Skopje MIC in English 19 Oct 94

[FBIS Transcribed Excerpt] At the news conference held today, the State Election Committee, led by President Petar Najdanov, revealed the results from the presidential elections in 60 out of a total of 120 electoral units.

537,865 voters cast their votes in these 60 electoral units, according to the electoral rolls, and 64,862 voted with valid documents. 491,476 ballot paper were counted valid and 46,389 were invalid. 375,854 voters or 50.22 percent voted for the candidate Kiro Gligorov, while 106,778 or 14.27 percent were for the candidate Ljubisa Georgievski.

The turnout in these 60 electoral units, according to this information, is estimated at 70 percent of the total number voters. [passage omitted]

Alliance Claims Gligorov Wins

AU1910211794 Skopje MIC in English 19 Oct 94

[FBIS Transcribed Excerpt] The spokesman of the Alliance for Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia], Tito Petkovski, warned the citizens at today's press conference against the intimidating scenarios of the largest opposition parties and their friends, who want to come to power according to a Roman scenario.

Petkovski appealed to citizens' common sense and urged them to restrain themselves and resist various provocations. Petkovski stressed that the opposition, in view of the bad results from the first round of elections, is lifting the tension in the republic to the degree of state emergency. "They do not have the right to criticize the will of the citizens, and on of the most hit by the irregularity of the elections is the Alliance for Macedonia, as many of its candidates, if it was not for those irregularities, could have already become MPs [members of parliament]." [passage omitted]

Gligorov—Unofficial President

The spokesman of the Alliance for Macedonia when asked whether according to his information the presidential candidate Kiro Gligorov was reelected in the first round responded positively. Petkovski was, however, reserved and said that those are unofficial results from 115 processed electoral units in which Gligorov received over 51 percent of the votes.

Also, unofficially, these electoral units had 130,000 invalid votes.

According to the information, over 73 percent of the electoral body turned up at the elections, which, as he sees it, is a massive response of the voters.

Opposition Plans Protest Rally; Police Worried

AU1910152694 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 19 Oct 94

[Report by Goran Opacic from Skopje]

[FBIS Translated Text] Since this morning, nervousness has been rising in Skopje prior to the leading opposition parties' protest rally scheduled for tonight. These parties consider the results of the presidential and parliamentary elections a sheer state fraud.

The warning by the Ministry of Internal Affairs, which has information on possible violent actions and disturbance of public order of larger proportions, indicates that there is reason for concern. The meeting in the central Skopje square at 1800 [1700 GMT] is organized by the two leading opposition parties, the Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization and the Democratic Party, and will be held under the slogan: For new, regular election. They will be joined by the supporters of some smaller parties that also demand that the first round of elections held on 16 October be annulled.

According to the still incomplete results, the opposition has experienced a convincing defeat.

The organizers of the meeting have already described the police statement on possible unrest as the old Stalinist method of frightening citizens. The opposition is appealing to the people to behave with dignity at the protest rally, and is openly dissociating itself from, as it says, some extreme groups and organizations that could interfere in the events at the rally near the parliament.

Alliance Warns Against Violence

LD1910160294 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1500 GMT 19 Oct 94

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Skopje, 19 Oct (TANJUG)—The ruling Alliance for Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia], which is convincingly in the lead in the recent presidential and parliamentary elections, warned in Skopje today that the opposition protest meeting, to be held in the center of the Macedonian capital this evening, could easily acquire dangerous proportions.

Tito Petkovski, spokesman of the three-party coalition, told journalists that the democratic forces are justified in their concern that "those who would like to see some

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kind of Romanian scenario enacted" may take advantage of the opposition meeting. [passage omitted]

An Interior Ministry statement that "it has acquired information on possible violent actions and plans for large-scale disturbances of public peace and order" also gives rise for concern.

Because of a possible "advance against the institutions," security at all important state buildings has been increased. Two lines of iron bars have been erected around the parliament building.

The opposition categorically denies any intent to cause unrest, but—while calling on the people to respect peace and dignity—it has distanced itself from possible actions "by extremist groups." [passage omitted]

Opposition Threatens Parliament

LD1910164994 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1557 GMT 19 Oct 94

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Skopje, 19 Oct (TANJUG)—The Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia this afternoon called on the citizens who will take part in this evening's opposition protest meeting in Skopje "to ensure by their behavior that the meeting passes in peace and without undesirable incidents."

The state radio has just reported that this statement says that representatives of the VMRO-DPMNE [Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization—Democratic Party for Macedonian National Unity] visited the Interior Ministry and "put forward a series of ultimatum-like demands, such as the resignation of the government, the state electoral commission, and the director of the state Institute for Statistics."

According to the statement, the VMRO-DPMNE representatives threatened that if their demands were not fulfilled, they would "take the parliament building by force and obstruct its activity."

The statement does not specify whether the VMRO-DPMNE officials have set a deadline by which their demands must be met. [passage omitted]

Demonstrators Demand Annulment

AU1910215394 Paris AFP in English 2126 GMT 19 Oct 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Skopje, Oct 19 (AFP)—Some 20,000 demonstrators gathered under heavy police surveillance in the Macedonian capital Skopje Wednesday [19 October] to demand the cancellation of Sunday's first round of presidential and legislative elections.

An attempt by up to 4,000 of the demonstrators to march to the parliament building was foiled by police and security forces of the main opposition party, the VMRO-DPMNE [Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization-Democratic Party of Macedonian National Unity], an extreme-right nationalist party.

The VMRO-DPMNE, which called the rally, has demanded the annulment of Sunday's polls and which earlier in the day had threatened to take parliament by force. The nationalist opposition has called on the government and the electoral commission to resign. Its leader Ljupce Georgijevski asked the crowd to stay away from the parliament building so not to "fall into the trap" of the governing coalition, whose leaders it described as "terrorists" and "criminals."

Hundreds of riot police ringed the parliament and other police watched from nearby rooftops. Demonstrators chanted slogans comparing outgoing President Kiro Gligorov with the late Romanian dictator Nicolae Ceausescu, and denouncing what they saw as laxism towards the country's Albanian minority.

The tension in Skopje follows a delay in the announcement of the official results of Sunday's elections, and was exacerbated by what a team of observers from the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) described as "blatant irregularities" in electoral procedures.

Announcing fresh first-round polls in five constituencies, the CSCE observers said that 64,000 out of 602,000 electors in 60 constituencies were not listed at the polling stations where they believed they were supposed to vote.

Rally Ends 'Peacefully'

LD1910211094 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2021 GMT 19 Oct 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Skopje, 19 Oct (TANJUG)—A big opposition meeting—held because the elections were allegedly rigged—ended peacefully in Skopje this evening, but a large number of demonstrators gathered outside parliament.

The meeting organizers, the Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization-the Democratic Party of Macedonian National Unity [VMRO-DPMNE] and the Democratic Party [DP] have delivered an ultimatum to the authorities demanding that by 22 October, and because of "elections rigged by the state," the first round of elections be proclaimed null and void, the government be dissolved, and the parliament speaker and members of the state electoral commission hand in their resignations.

The VMRO-DPMNE, the strongest opposition party, also announced that it would boycott the second round of elections, scheduled for 30 October. The first round of elections for the president and Sobranje (parliament) was held on 16 October.

VMRO-DPMNE security men tried to disperse their party's supporters this evening because they completely

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blocked 11 October Street and came into direct contact with Sobranje security people. The police had blocked all access to the parliament building. According to the first estimates, between 40,000 and 50,000 people attended the meeting.

VMRO-DPMNE Ultimatum

AU1910223294 Skopje Radio Macedonia Network in Macedonian 2100 GMT 19 Oct 94

[Report by Marko Markovski]

[FBIS Translated Text] The last group of VMRO-DPMNE [Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization-Democratic Party for Macedonian National Unity] supporters that gathered at the [word indistinct] Makedonija tonight have ended the political protest.

As they were leaving the square in front of the Assembly of the Republic of Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia], at the proposal of VMRO-DPMNE President Ljupco Georgievski, they formed a march for democracy and moved toward the St. Klement Ohridski Church, where the most loyal supporters and sympathizers of the party lit candles.

Since a group of policemen appeared there, the VMRO-DPMNE leader and his supporters peacefully returned to Makedonija Square. Speaking there, (?they) said that tonight's meeting has demonstrated that the Macedonian people are with the opposition and that they (?did not vote) for them.

[Words indistinct] the government of Branko Crvenkovski. We do not intend to remain silent and vote for the implementation of dictatorship. Therefore, Georgievski said, we held a civilized protest. We (?presented) an ultimatum that the elections be canceled within three days. I believe that both the government and Mr. Kiro Gligorov will be sensible and (?accept) this. We must be firm in our will and (?fight) for our supporters (?and stress) that such rallies be held throughout Macedonia. If the authorities continue with force and dictatorship, they will end up like the authorities in Haiti, Georgievski stressed.

[Passage indistinct] a rally for democracy and return home in peace and with dignity, Ljupco Georgievski told his supporters. [sentence indistinct]

Parties React to VMRO-DPMNE, DP Complaints

AU1910170094 Skopje NOVA MAKEDONIJA in Macedonian 19 Oct 94 p 3

[Report by Panta Djambazovski and Sanja Vasic: "The Debacle in the First Round—The Only Reason"]

[FBIS Translated Text] After the publication of the first unofficial results from the first round of the elections, which indicate that the Alliance for Macedonia has a great advantage and it is leading in the majority of constituencies, the two largest opposition parties, the VMRO-DPMNE [Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization-Democratic Movement for Macedonian National Unity] and the Democratic Party [DP] have called for an anullment of the elections. These parties consider the elections irregular. According to the VMRO-DPMNE, if the State Election Commission does not declare the elections null and void, the party's next step will be to withdraw from the second round of the elections. The DP thinks that this has been a case of state manipulation and that if its demands are not met, "there is no sense in participating further in the elections." These two parties have also scheduled a joint rally in Skopje, and they expect many other opposition parties to join them.

Yesterday, a number of parties that participated in the elections reacted to the assessments of the VMRO-DPMNE and the DP and to their announcement of a possible boycott of the second round of the elections.

A Question of Political Culture

For the Alliance for Macedonia, the ruling coalition accused by the two parties of manipulation, SDSM [Social Democratic Alliance of Macedonia] President Branko Crvenkovski said at a news conference yesterday that the VMRO-DPMNE and the DP's demands for an anullment of the elections mean that they are unprepared to face the truth and the will of the people. "There were similar requests at the first elections, but this time another reason is being sought. These two parties are ready to "gain power by any means, including organizing rallies and attacks, but I hope that the citizens will remain on the level of the first election round," Crvenkovski said.

PDP floor leader Muhamed Halili stated that the VMRO-DPMNE and the DP, as political parties, have the right to refuse to participate in the elections and that the reasons for the boycott are for them to determine. They are right to boycott because of the results, Halili said, because this is what happens in everyday life: The loser is usually angry and it is somebody else's fault. Nevertheless, the elections are being monitored by observers, and we shall see what their assessment will be. Our party also has a number of observations regarding the organization of the elections and the failures that we were warning of beforehand and that we are now seeing repeated. We have also other observations—candidate Arben Djaferi was electioneering at the polling station, Albanian television was also spreading propaganda, and its programs are seen in Tetovo, and some diplomats were also included in this propaganda. Anyway, the PDP considers the elections in order and does not intend to make any decision similar to those of the VMRO-DPMNE and the DP, because their intention is to repeat the situation of 1990, when the VMRO-DPMNE organized anti-Albanian rallies in order to gain success in the second round."

NDP [People's Democratic Party] President Marsel Bilali thinks that the VMRO-DPMNE and the DP need

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a political culture. "Both parties, and particularly the DP, have experienced a real debacle in the elections, and it is no wonder that they are angry—the loser is entitled to complain! As a matter of fact, the truth is that in Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia] the elections are based on the majority system and that is why we can understand their dissatisfaction. If there is a majority system, a party like the DP, which for instance wins 30 percent of the vote, will be represented with 30 percent members of parliament, but according to the present system it can remain without a single member. However," Bilali concludes, "the NDP believes that the combined 50-50 system is the most appropriate for Macedonia."

Running Away From the Political Struggle

Tomislav Stojanovski, president of the Democratic Party of Macedonia [DPM] in Tetovo, said that they had a great number of complaints, such as the State Election Commission's unpreparedness for the elections. However, he said that his party was not in favor of having the elections annulled. As for the VMRO-DPMNE, he emphasized that it is through to the second round in almost every constituency, and that nobody can to be blamed for the fact that Gosev's party is on the third place. Stojanovski pointed out that they were worried only because the turnout in the elections was low.

The candidates of the VMRO-DP [Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization-Democratic Party] are not through to the second round in every constituency. Party leader Vladimir Golubovski stated at a news conference yesterday that they will join the demands of the VMRO-DPMNE and the DP for the annulment of the elections. "The VMRO-DP has decided to freeze all the differences that it has with other opposition parties and we shall include ourselves in all the further activities of the opposition. After we have succeeded in annulling the elections, we shall correct the mistakes and try to agree on joint action by the Macedonian opposition," Golubovski said.

Erdogan Sarac, the leader of the Democratic Party of Turks, says that the elections must continue, and that their annulment is not in favor of democracy. "However, if there are irregularities, they must be backed with arguments and, wherever they can be proved, the elections must be annulled. It will be detrimental if some parties boycott the second round, because they will thus give up the political struggle. Our party also has a number of complaints," Sarac says, "but we shall certainly participate in the second round. It is in the interest of peace in Macedonia to have the elections continue, and the State Election Commission must respect only those complaints that can be proven."

Observers Urge Participation in 2d Election Round

AU1910152794 Skopje NOVA MAKEDONIJA in Macedonian 19 Oct 94 p 3

[Unattributed report: "There Should Be Participation in the Second Round"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The elections in Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia] were monitored by some 450 observers, 150 of whom represented the CSCE and the Council of Europe; the others came from some other nongovernmental organizations and domestic institutions. The public was informed about their impressions at the polling stations on the day of the elections, and they emphasized that, in spite of some failures and irregularities, the observers of the CSCE and the Council of Europe would never recommend that the citizens not participate in the elections. They pointed out that it was necessary to participate in the elections because it would contribute to democracy. They also expressed their gratitude for the hospitality in Macedonia and for the possibilities of implementing their tasks without any problems. They reiterated several times that the elections were implemented freely and peacefully, although there had been some incidents and some lesser problems.

In an exclusive statement for Macedonian Television, Xavier Ruperes, the leader of the CSCE delegation from Spain, emphasized that "it seems that the people know how to discuss political problems. We have noted some problems and failures on the day of the elections when we visited more than 100 polling stations in the country, but these failures were of a mainly technical nature: Some people were not included on the voting lists. We suggest something that should be done at once: The improvement of the voting lists for the second round of the elections. There are some things that can be done later on, as is for instance the problem of the citizenship certificates, because it cannot be solved now. However, regarding the lists, I think that all of those that will participate in the second round must be included."

In his statement, he pointed out that "it is very important for the people and for the politicians to take part in the elections. Whatever the problems might be, the people must take part in the elections and thus improve the situation. We think that it would be very wrong if a decision was taken not to take part in the elections: It would be wrong for the person that has taken such a decision, as well as for the functioning of the whole system and for the country itself."

The representatives of the Council of Europe, Lamberd Kepsstermans and Doris Havick, also assessed the elections as fair and democratic. This is what they stated: "We can freely say that the elections were free and fair and that this is going to be a freely elected parliament. This parliament will change some small matters, it will adopt new laws, and you will have a government, and then the economic situation throughout Europe will be developed in a good direction, and this country will have more opportunities to do something. I think this will be a great step toward the membership of Macedonia in the Council of Europe.

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"I personally believe that a country like Macedonia, which is multinational and which was under a dictatorship for 50 years, which is burdened with many problems, and which is located in this region of the world—which has not so many problems yet to solve—must not be overly strict and it must understand the problems ofthe authorities in this country, of the government and the parliament." In their statement, they also emphasized that the "organization was not always as good as it should be, but you are a new democracy. Time is always needed."

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CE Chief, Officials Discuss EU Membership

AU1410192294 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1430 GMT 14 Oct 94

[FBIS Translated Text] On the second day of his visit to Slovenia, the secretary general of the Council of Europe [CE], Daniel Tarschys, met with President Milan Kucan. The esteemed guest was also received by State Chamber Chairman Jozef Skoljc. The meeting was also attended by deputies Dr. France Bucar, Borut Pahor, and Zoran Thaler. At the meeting, they mainly discussed Slovenia's efforts to join the European Union [EU] and expressed the hope that the CE is aware of the unacceptable Italian conditions in the negotiations on Slovenia's EU associate membership. A part of the talks also focused on the question of how Slovenia could join in the resolution of the Bosnia-Herzegovina crisis.

Today, Tarschys also met with Prime Minister Janez Drnovsek and Foreign Minister Lojze Peterle. The foreign minister informed his guest about the continuation of the talks on open issues with neighboring Italy and the beginning of negotiations on EU associate membership.

Portugal Supports Membership

AU1810162494 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1430 GMT 18 Oct 94

[FBIS Translated Text] In a letter to Prime Minister Janez Drnovsek, Portuguese Prime Minister Anibal Cavaco promised Portugal's full support for Slovenia in drawing closer to the European Union. He wrote that Portugal ascribes great significance to the development of relations between Slovenia and the European Union and that it favors the signing of an agreement on Slovenia's associate membership in the European 12.

He also announced that, at the meeting of the EU ministers, Portugal will support the passing of a mandate on negotiations on the above-mentioned agreement.

Experts Reportedly Praise Aquileia Document

AU1410195594 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1430 GMT 14 Oct 94

[FBIS Translated Text] At yesterday's session, the Slovene Government also discussed the proposal of a document that is a result of the marathon meeting of the Slovene and Italian foreign ministers in Aquileia, which the prime ministers of both countries are expected to sign at their meeting in the vicinity of Milan.

The contents of the proposed document are not known because the government, for the benefit of further talks, has decided to keep them a top state secret. We have only learned that the proposal received a very good assessment from the experts. The public will thus most probably be informed of the contents of the document when the proposal is discussed in parliament. This will most likely happen next week inasmuch as Prime Ministers Drnovsek and Berlusconi are expected to meet on 26 October—that is, five days before the EU foreign ministers meeting at which they are scheduled to discuss the mandate for Slovenia's accession to the European Union.

Military Cooperation With Bosnia To Be Expanded

LD1510135794 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1125 GMT 15 Oct 94

["Pool" item]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Ljubljana, Oct. 15 (TANJUG)—Sources close to the Slovenian Defense Ministry said on Saturday that Slovenia will extend the volume of its military cooperation with the Bosnian Muslims. The sources said that cooperation will include deliveries of military equipment from Slovenia and the training of a number of Bosnian Muslim Army units.

A Bosnian Muslim Army delegation, headed by General Rasim Delic, discussed prospective cooperation with ranking Slovenian Army officials in Ljubljana. The Muslims expect aid in training and equipment for specialized commando units.

The Bosnian Muslim delegation said that the Bosnian Muslim Government wants Slovenia to hand over the already paid for 120 tons of weapons siezed at Maribor airport by former Defense Minister Janez Jansa in June 1993. It is rumored that a part of that shipment will be sent to the central Bosnian city of Tuzla within the next few days.

The Sarajevo Bosnian Muslim Government recently appointed Murafid Mekic as its new military attache in Ljubljana. His two predecessors had been sacked in less than 18 months because the Muslim leaders said they had not secured sufficient quantities of weapons from and via Slovenia.

Foreign Currency Reserves Increasing

95P20043A Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 23 Sep 94 p 3

[Article by M.J.: "Foreign Exchange Approaching $2.5 Billion"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Ljubljana, 22 September—Bank of Slovenia data show that foreign currency reserves reached $2.208 billion at the end of July, the highest amount so far and approximately $70 million more than at the end of June. It is interesting to note that the foreign currency reserves of commercial banks have decreased by $40 million since June, totaling $1.22 billion, while the Bank of Slovenia's increased by almost $115 million, amounting to $1.186 billion. According to the latest data, foreign currency reserves are increasing at a fast rate; as of 20 September, they amounted to $2.486 billion.

The Bank of Slovenia Bulletin reports that Slovenia deposited in its fiduciary account at the Dresdner Bank Luxemburg SA over $7.7 million during July and August. The total amount in this account is $67,899,000.

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Federal

U.S. Fails To Comply With Sanctions Resolution

LD2010085294 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0444 GMT 20 Oct 94

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] New York, 20 Oct (TANJUG)—Although the Security Council co-sponsored and voted for the resolution to ease sanctions against Yugoslavia, the Americans are failing to comply with this decision.

This is best illustrated in the area of air traffic, where sanctions were suspended for 100 days. However, not only are the Americans not allowing JAT [Yugoslav Airlines] to fly to the United States, they are also impeding other airlines from engaging in normal cooperation with Yugoslavia. Because approval for the landing of JAT planes is a matter for sovereign decision-making and bilateral negotiation in each interested country, blocking foreign airlines is inexplicable and, even more, unjustifiable.

In a brief survey of the representative offices of all major airlines in New York on Wednesday [19 October], TANJUG learned that the Americans are continuing to ban both the sale of tickets to foreign airline companies and information about flights to Belgrade. [passage omitted]

Yugoslav, Italian Airlines To Resume Flights

LD1810204394 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1959 GMT 18 Oct 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Rome, Oct 18 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav Airlines and Italy's Alitalia on Tuesday reached a preliminary agreement on resuming air traffic between the two countries' capitals. The first planes are to take off to Rome (Yugoslav Airlines) and to Belgrade (Alitalia) by the end of the month. Yugoslav Airlines will meanwhile organize several charter flights to Rome as of next Saturday.

The previous bilateral agreement entitled Yugoslav Airlines to air links with Rome, Milan and Venice. When conflicts broke out in the former Yugoslavia the Italian Government decided to allow air traffic only between its capital and the capitals of the former Yugoslav republics. Belgrade is the only capital with which Alitalia is to resume regular air traffic.

Flights from Rome to Ljubljana, Zagreb and Skopje, the capitals of the former Yugoslav Republics of Slovenia, Croatia and Macedonia, are organized by their respective airlines.

France's Juppe Urges FRY Efforts on Bosnia

LD1910163494 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1555 GMT 19 Oct 94

["Pool" item]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Podgorica, Montenegro, Oct. 19 (TANJUG)—French Foreign Minister Alain Juppe has said Yugoslavia should continue positive efforts toward a peaceful resolution of the Bosnian crisis.

In a letter to Montenegrin Foreign Minister Miodrag Lekic received Wednesday, Juppe said continued work for peace would permit consideration of an additional easing of sanctions against Yugoslavia in coming months.

The United Nations Security Council in late May 1992 imposed sanctions against the Yugoslav Federation of Serbia and Montenegro for alleged involvement in the Bosnian civil war.

In early September this year the sanctions in the fields of international air and sea transport, sports and culture were eased for 100 days.

Juppe said fast and important moves toward peace were needed to allow any reintegration of Yugoslavia into the international community.

Government To Finance Budget From Own Revenues

LD1810154694 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1500 GMT 18 Oct 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Oct 18 (TANJUG)—Yugoslavia will this year be in the position to finance the federal budget from its own revenues, without any credits, and apparently, without the need to revise it.

The National Bank of Yugoslavia in July stopped financing the state budget deficit in order to permanently eliminate the chief source of inflation. The bank's governor and the main author of the Yugoslav economic recovery, Dragoslav Avramovic has said inflation in Yugoslavia will be at the minimum if the state lives on its own income.

Yugoslav Deputy Prime Minister and Finance Minister Jovan Zebic has said this is a unique year in the last five decades as there will be no need to revise the federal budget.

In the nine months, from January to September this year, one billion and 117 million dinars (about 75 million dollars) or about 66.7 percent of the annual plan were spent from the federal budget. The bulk of the funds went for the needs of the Yugoslav Army—885 million dinars (about 60 million dollars) or 70 percent of the annual plan, whereas 232 million dinars (about 15 million dollars) or 56.5 percent of the annual plan were spent on to cover other needs.

The Yugoslav Government estimates that the total planned revenues for this year will be realized.

The Yugoslav Government asked the federal organs to take all measures necessary in the fourth quarter to secure revenues for the federal budget. More rational

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usage of the federal budget funds and more efficient collection of revenues are expected by the end of the year. The Yugoslav Government recommended that the overall budget funds of the Yugoslav Republics of Serbia and Montenegro, towns and municipalities not be increased through the end of the year, and thus contribute to preserving the value of the dinar.

Serbia

Marjanovic Views Results of Economic Program

AU1910221594 Belgrade VECERNJE NOVOSTI in Serbo-Croatian 16 Oct 94 p 2

[Interview with Serbian Prime Minister Mirko Marjanovic by unidentified correspondent on 14 October; place not given: "Dinar on Firm Feet"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *The birthday celebration of VECERNJE NOVOSTI was also graced by Serbian Prime Minister Mirko Marjanovic who has been the director of Progres for many years. Apart from congratulations, the prime minister also indulged a reporter's request to answer several topical questions in the VECERNJE NOVOSTI editorial office the day before yesterday.*

[VECERNJE NOVOSTI] Is the program of economic recovery in a crisis?

[Marjanovic] It is well known that the program of monetary reconstruction and recovery has had two basic goals from the very beginning: The stabilization of the domestic currency (and prices) and the balancing of budgetary income with budgetary expenditure as a prerequisite for the reanimation of production in the conditions of the market economy. These two goals were practically been achieved by the end of June. On its part, the Serbian Government has contributed toward the realization of the program by further cutting public expenditure below the level set by the program. We continue to adhere to stringent financial discipline and budget limitations. In this sense, we have adjusted salaries in public enterprises to the limitations of the budget, that is to say, the economic potential of the entire economy. We know that these salaries are low and we would love to raise them to a higher level. It is not right that top specialists or university professors work for a few hundred dinars a month, however, unfortunately, we do not foresee real sources of income that would permit the salaries that they doubtlessly deserve. If we want to see an increase in production and consumption based on a stable currency in the future, we must all be patient, at least for some time, and simultaneously take decisive steps in the direction of rationalization and saving in all spheres of "the social superstructure" now. This is a clear message of the recovery program, and we will defend the results accomplished so far wholeheartedly. Therefore, the program has succeeded, the right steps have been taken, and the government has successfully completed its part of the job. Therefore, the program is not threatened.

However, another questions poses itself. Is the dinar's stability threatened at this moment? Are those structures that are happy with the chaos of hyperinflation and constant price increases with unlimited possibilities for foreign currency speculation rising again? In the current situation, that is, in the absence of a need to finance the budgetary deficit by the National Bank of Yugoslavia, there is not a single good reason for the dinar weakening. I am convinced that, with appropriate monetary instruments, the monetary authorities will halt all the present symptoms of the dinar's dwindling against convertible currencies and other goods on the market. Within the limits of its authority, the Serbian Government will do its part of the job.

We also expect numerous useful solutions from the working groups for banking, investments, and distribution (salaries, pensions, taxed) that have been formed by the governor of the National bank of Yugoslavia. The structure of these groups shows that a badly needed consensus of economy, trade unions, science, and state on the fundamental issues regarding the general implementation of the program of the country's economic recovery will be reached within these groups.

Print House Closed

[VECERNJE NOVOSTI] It is being rumored that a stable dinar does not suit some companies "under state patronage"? Is this true?

[Marjanovic] I would not say that this applies to state or socially owned enterprises exclusively. You will recall that it was precisely during last year's inflation that some private companies grew into real financial moguls. We must not close our eyes to these facts. These dangers are real and big pressures on the monetary authorities to issue money really do exist from many sides: From trade unions, pensioners' associations, which seek an increase in salaries, and from factories that demand the securing of sources for the reanimation of production and further development. A belief inherited from the recent past that the state must take care of the social enterprises and that commercial banks and the National Bank of Yugoslavia are merely the mechanisms of this general care is rooted too deeply among some of our businessmen, it seems. This would practically mean that companies do not need to take care of their profitability or capability to meet their financial obligations as this would be a concern of institutions outside companies.

According to this conception, the companies should only think of production and even this only to the extent that objective circumstances would permit. You will admit that it is difficult or even impossible to ascertain to what degree objective circumstances are truly restrictive and to what extent they are merely an excuse used for concealing incompetence, negligence, or the misuse of social funds.

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The inflation that has reigned in Yugoslavia for many years has contributed to such beliefs. The shortage of money for financing permanent working capital or paying of salaries prior to the adoption of the program has often been compensated for by money issues by the National Bank of Yugoslavia. Commercial banks that themselves lacked necessary reserves really played the role of transmission mechanisms. Credits were issued and, for many of them, banks more or less knew in advance that they would not be paid in due time. All this aggravated the process of the rapid increase of salaries and, automatically, other incomes. The difficult circumstances of the international blockade have brought about a very low level of personal expenditure by workers and citizens, however, rest assured that this situation cannot improve through money issue and the distribution of funds. This can only cause an additional problem—inflation such as it was in 1993 and at the beginning of 1994.

The government will not, under any circumstances, indulge companies which a weakening dinar, monetary chaos, and financial indiscipline suit. On the contrary, we insist that companies and institutions themselves bear the full consequences of their business decisions and the conditions in which they work.

Gray Economy

[VECERNJE NOVOSTI] Are you, as the government, ready to take decisive steps to eliminate the gray economy, profiteering, foreign currency dealers' cuts....?

[Marjanovic] We are aware of the fact that, during the years of the economic blockade and the general underemployment of our production capacities, numerous workers found refuge and a source of existence for their families in the realm of the gray economy. We do not want to eliminate the activities that currently exist in this sphere. On the contrary, we hail the resourcefulness of each individual, but at the same time believe that it is not right that the income from this realm goes untaxed. Everyone must bear the burden of taxation, relative to his economic strength. The government will try to integrate as large as possible a portion of the gray economy into legal channels, which will give a considerable impetus to our economic activity

Regarding profiteering, foreign currency dealers' cuts, and other criminal activities, the executive authorities will carry out its duties and nip such occurrences in the bud. Observation of the law, the legal conduct of business in the conditions of the free market, and the increasing individual initiative of each citizen will remain the basic premises of the recovery program.

[VECERNJE NOVOSTI] Is the inefficiently of the Assembly suppressing the work of the government? To what extent, if at all, does this bother you?

[Marjanovic] Even when the government was being elected, I called on all deputies to assist the government in the realization of the program of the country's economic recovery as its most important task. I had good reason to expect this cooperation from everybody in the Assembly, because the program of the country's economic recovery is the national program and not a program of one party alone. What is more important, the program won the support of a great majority of citizens regardless of their political orientation. The deputies of the opposition parties, instead of acknowledging such a will of the citizens, many of whom were their voters, and with their proposals and criticisms placing a decisive pressure on the government to work better and more efficiently, often use the assembly rostrum for interparty squabbles, verbal duels between party leaders, unsubstantiated claims, and personal insults. This is undermining the Assembly's reputation and reducing the efficiency of its work considerably.

I would like to add that I am worried about the hitherto inefficiency of the Federal Assembly, the work of which, for similar reasons, is sometimes really obstructed, which must be overcome immediately. Beside other things, the key economic system laws on enterprises, labor relations, the functioning of the capital market, and property transformation, which are an important precondition for the general implementation of the program of country's economic recovery, have still not been passed.

Of course, the government must do its job, propose bills, take measures, and conduct economic, social, and development policy with the help of the mechanisms and instruments that are under its jurisdiction. We are prepared to come before the Assembly and present a well-argumented explanation and defend our policy at any moment. Finally, we consider the support we enjoy in the Assembly to be a confirmation of our work and the results we have achieved in the sphere of taxation policy, in reducing public expenditure, in the price policy regarding products of key importance, in agricultural policy, in social policy, and in the functioning of public enterprises and public services.

[VECERNJE NOVOSTI] Are you going to persevere in curbing prices?

[Marjanovic] You know that our market-oriented program envisages the free formation of prices, except for the public sector and a group of products that are essential for the existential needs of the population. Precisely the free price formation (of about 80 percent of products and services), along with the policy of the firm dinar and the reduction of public expenditure, was decisive for the program's success so far. Prices are stable and at the end of September they were 9.2 percent lower than in February, despite the monthly 0.2 increase in September. During September and at the start of October, a slight price increase was registered, above all of services (financial and personal, as well as of prices of social protection). At the proposal of cattle breeders and slaughterhouses, the prices of meat and meat products

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were returned back to the level of 25 July. The prices of communal services, with some exceptions, remained the same. The programs for increasing production, as well as for stabilizing supplies and prices of key agricultural products and foods have begun to be realized. Recently, we also reacted energetically to pressures to increase the prices of edible oil from the 1993 harvest. Our reaction will be the same for any other attempts to benefit from a monopoly position and thereby force an otherwise totally unfounded price increase.

Of course, the Government of the Republic of Serbia has made its greatest contribution to price stability by a repeated, significant reduction of public spending and by halting deficit budget financing since 24 July. We are convinced that the remaining factors in economic policy will take measures that are in their domain, thereby contributing to a continuation of stable prices and a firm dinar.

[Box, p 2]

Cabinet

[VECERNJE NOVOSTI] What is your assessment of the work of your cabinet so far, are you going to change anything, and what are your priorities?

[Marjanovic] I would not like it to sound like a boast, but a program that produced results, a method of work that has been producing such results, and the team that has been implementing all this do not seem to need to be changed. Of course, there is always a possibility of improving and furthering something or, due to a change in circumstances, abandoning something and accepting something new. I think that we have demonstrated a necessary flexibility in this respect and that it will be the case in the future as well.

[Box, p 2]

Sunday

[VECERNJE NOVOSTI] Jokes are told about your style of work in the Progres Enterprise—about consultative meetings held on Saturdays and Sunday mornings. Now when you are head of the government, what does your work day look like?

[Marjanovic] Let me now expand your joke: I no longer only work in the morning on Saturdays and Sundays, but in the afternoon as well.

I am used to working as much as the job requires, and it is easy to guess how much work the post of prime minister requires. Moreover, I have not neglected my work in Progres either, so I am taking turns in "having a rest" from one job by doing the other. However, all that is a part of the job that I accepted and that I physically endure rather well. This is why I do not complain. I have not assumed this post in order to have a rest. I find it relaxing and satisfying that our results in implementing the program have, so far, been met with approval among the general public, something I can also learn from the many direct contacts with businessmen and citizens from the whole of the republic I have every day.

[Box, p 3]

Newspapers

[VECERNJE NOVOSTI] Why can't newspapers increase in price?

[Marjanovic] Instead of answering the question, it would perhaps be better to ask a counter-question: Why should newspapers increase in price?

Since you insist on that issue, newspapers are a good example of the way the government tackles the problem of price pressures on the market. As early as July, the government reacted immediately to the initial announcements of an increase in the price of the factors of production of newspapers. The Government of the Republic of Serbia has made maximum efforts with a view to reviving the production of cellulose and newsprint in order to ensure that newspaper houses are supplied with the necessary quantities of raw material at favorable prices. Thus, since 14 July, newspaper houses have been paying 800 dinars per metric ton for newsprint instead of the 1,200 dinars they paid before.

The prices of other products that influence the newspaper price have also been maintained at the same level or reduced: electricity, the price of which has been the same since the start of the implementation of the program; the prices of oil and other production factors that have an impact on newspaper prices have been reduced. All in all, after analyzing the price of VECERNJE NOVOSTI and the calculations done by other newspaper houses, we concluded that costs have not increased since the beginning of the program implementation. After all, the very facts that, at the current prices, newspaper houses realized quite satisfying results and that the level of their wages is far higher than the republican average show that the present price is completely realistic.

Another question is of how correct a move it would be to increase prices, which would reduce the present high sales. That would certainly mar a habit. I would in fact call it a positive right of the broad circle of readers to be thoroughly informed at acceptable prices. The government itself will continue to insist on stable prices and create the conditions for both newspaper readers and producers to be satisfied.

After all, I would like to point out that you and other heads of newspaper houses agreed with such a policy of newspaper prices.

[Box 3, p 2]

Policy of Peace

[VECERNJE NOVOSTI] In the name of Serbia, you have signed important international agreements with

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Viktor Chernomyrdin, president of the Russian Federation Government. Are they already being realized and do you plan to have new contacts with colleagues abroad soon?

[Marjanovic] That is true. After serious preparations in April, we signed an agreement on trade and economic cooperation and an agreement on the formation of the international Yugoslav-Russian Committee for Trade and Scientific Cooperation. These agreements are first class documents of vital importance for the Republic of Serbia. They are the basis for the signing of concrete agreements between business partners in both countries. Beside representing extremely important documents for the republic's economic activity, they are equally significant in the political sense, as a confirmation of our determination for the policy of peace.

In the meantime, we have appointed our part of the mixed committee and formed subcommittees that should prepare and monitor the realization of concrete tasks. Some concrete deals are already being realized, the most significant of which is definitely that on the import of gas for humanitarian purposes, that is, for the forthcoming heating season. It is very important to stress that all these deals are taking the nature of barter, which in the present situation is the only correct way of obtaining the most needed goods from abroad without exhausting our foreign currency reserves.

The process of the easing of sanctions that has started is creating the conditions for the resumption of cooperation with other countries. On the basis of this, certain plans, contacts, and preparations for the resumption of intense economic cooperation definitely exist, primarily with our old business partners, but also with new ones. However, true to my principles, I would speak about this in more detail after we have seen the first results.

[Box 4, p 2]

VECERNJE NOVOSTI

I truly have the highest opinion about the quality of VECERNJE NOVOSTI and not only for courtesy reasons. Bearing in mind that, due to the nature of my work, I have been reading papers for a long time, I have observed that, over the last few years, VECERNJE NOVOSTI has made a big step in the direction of not only informing its readers more objectively, but also providing more analytical and in-depth examinations of all topical issues.

However, the best judgment about a product is always passed by consumers, that is, the readers. After a drastic fall in circulation in 1993, which was caused by the information chaos here, VECERNJE NOVOSTI has stabilized its circulation at 270,000 copies plus a day and at nearly 400,000 copies on Friday, so many European papers can now envy the circulation of VECERNJE NOVOSTI.

Minister Notes Upturn in Industrial Production

LD1910154494 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1503 GMT 19 Oct 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Novi Sad, Oct. 19 (TANJUG)—Serbia's industrial facilities are operating at 40 percent of capacity thanks to an upturn in industrial production, Serbian Minister of Industry Oskar Fodor said Wednesday.

Minister Fodor said in a meeting with businessmen in Novi Sad, the centre of Serbia's northern province of Vojvodina, that industrial production rose by as much as 17 percent in September alone. He said before the programme of economic recovery and monetary restructuring had been inaugurated on Jan. 24 this year, the industrial facilities had worked at only 28 percent of capacity. Fodor said the figure was expected to go up to 50 percent by the end of the year.

The Serbian minister of industry said all comparisons with earlier years were "relative." He said it needed to be specified that "industrial production dropped to as little as 28 percent of its total potential" from 1989 until the end of March this year. Fodor said half of the drop had occurred before sanctions were introduced against the Yugoslav federation of Serbia and Montenegro two and a half years ago, as a result of the disintegration of the former Yugoslavia and the poor demand for Yugoslav goods in developed countries.

The minister said the figures had to be borne in mind in anticipation of the lifting of the sanctions. He said the development of society as a whole had to be in line with the actual possibilities.

The total economic embargo has cost the Yugoslav economy at least 45 billion dollars, according to official [word indistinct].

Fuel Shortage Disrupts Train Service

LD2010111394 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1030 GMT 20 Oct 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Zajecar, 20 Oct (TANJUG)—Train services in eastern Serbia, which have been significantly reduced since last Saturday because of an oil shortage, are nonexistent today. All early morning passenger trains, TANJUG learned at the Zajecar train station, failed to set out; late morning departures have also been cancelled, so many workers did not go to work.

Some improvement is expected late this afternoon when, it has been announced, three passenger trains—from Zajecar to Nis at 1630, from Zajecar to Kucevo at 1755, and from Zajecar to Pristaniste via Prahovo at 1815—will depart.

Shipyards To Resume Work With Lifting of Sanctions

LD1910121294 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1120 GMT 19 Oct 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Novi Sad, Oct. 19 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav shipyards will resume the building of ships

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worth about 100 million dollars for foreign buyers started before the imposition of the sanctions against Yugoslavia. They say 60 percent of different-type ships have already been built for Western European and Scandinavian buyers, but construction was suspended when the United Nations imposed sanctions in 1992.

Serbia's Vojvodina Province Chamber of Economy on Wednesday upheld a proposal made by Vojvodina's shipyards that the building of these ships be resumed. However, Vojvodina's ship-builders said they needed additional funds from the Serbian Government to complete the building of [word indistinct] the ships ordered.

Serbian Industry Minister [title as received] Oskar Fodor said the Serbian Government was doing its best to help create more favorable working conditions for the over 2,500 employed in the shipyards.

Vojvodina ship-builders expect the National Bank of Yugoslavia and commercial banks to approve loans to complete the building and to secure higher imports once the sanctions are lifted.

Montenegro

Russian Envoy Churkin Discusses Lifting Sanctions

AU1810210194 Podgorica POBJEDA in Serbo-Croatian 9 Oct 94 p 3

[Interview with Vitaly Churkin, special envoy to the Russian president, by Stojanka Bobicic in Cetinje on 8 October: "Hope in a New Alliance"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *Vitaly Churkin, special envoy to the Russian president, arrived in Cetinje today within his several-day visit to Montenegro. After having visited the sights of Cetinje, Montenegrin Foreign Minister Miodrag Lekic invited the respected guest for lunch at the "Grand" Hotel. The friendly atmosphere was already felt during the first meeting with the hosts, who had a pleasant chat with the guest, served at the same time with traditional Montenegrin snacks.*

Mr. Churkin agreed to give us an interview for the Sunday edition of POBJEDA.

Churkin expressed the already known attitudes on the Yugoslav crisis and stressed that there is now a ray of hope since an agreement was reached in the political alliance Russia-Belgrade-Podgorica. He said that there were, however, attempts by stubborn Bosnian Serbs to slow down this peace process, but he pointed out that he was convinced that the unfolding of events would be dictated by the above-mentioned coalition.

"I feel wonderful, this is really a beautiful country. I am in Montenegro for the third time, but I have only been to Podgorica so far. This is the first opportunity to become acquainted with this country, its history, culture, and nature, which have very much impressed me," Churkin said and added smiling that he had found the time and power to "try" the Montenegrin sea the day before.

"In recent talks with President Momir Bulatovic, the idea was born that a high-ranked Montenegrin official—it will probably be Miodrag Lekic, the foreign minister—visit Moscow. We agreed that he would be accompanied by the Montenegrin minister of tourism. It is quite clear that Montenegro has good chances as a tourist country, but this is, unfortunately, not known in Russia. Many Russian tourists travel abroad, and we were surprised to hear that only 100 Russian tourists came to Montenegro in 1994. We shall try to find ways to increase this number by thousands, even ten thousands. This will be useful to both of us," Churkin said.

[Bobicic] How do you assess the present situation in the former Yugoslavia, especially in Bosnia and Croatia?

[Churkin] The situation in difficult—this is clear, the war of nerves is going on, but there is a ray of hope. The main hope is that the political alliance Moscow-Belgrade-Podgorica finally reached an agreement. Although the situation is difficult, we have agreed with the leaderships in Belgrade, Montenegro, and in Yugoslavia in general. If we act together, it is possible to overcome the current problems within a short period of time, although the situation is difficult.

[Bobicic] You recently stated that the focus of diplomatic attention is slowly moving to the relations between Serbia and Croatia. Can you explain this?

[Churkin] I have always thought that if there is no improvement of Serbian-Croat relations, it is difficult to speak about a solution to the crisis. It is perhaps necessary to explain this to the United States, even to Moscow. Because of the importance of that problem, I always carry the agreement signed by the Knin and Zagreb governments in the Russian Embassy in Zagreb in my bag. These are only the first steps though. I am sorry that the economic problems between them have not been solved as of yet. It is my wish that Serbian and Croatian politicians gather and seriously discuss many issues. Unfortunately, there are political slogans on both sides—whether Krajina is a state or not, whether it will be a part of Croatia or not, whether it will be independent or not. I think this is a matter of principle. No one will go to live on the moon, everyone will live here, in the same area. Look, there are almost no borders in Europe any longer! This is the right time for politicians to meet and forget the slogans. They should agree on how they will live; they should take objective decisions.

[Bobicic] Russian President Yeltsin stated after his meeting with Mr. Clinton that they had also discussed the final removal of the sanctions. Can you tell us more about that?

[Churkin] We have had a lot of discussions on this issue, and not just with Clinton. The Bosnian crisis was one of the most important issues in the talks between Yeltsin

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and Clinton. I am convinced that the continuation of the Yugoslav policy will lead to a final peaceful solution. We have to be objective, however. This is a difficult war and it has lasted for a long time, which is why the way out of the crisis is difficult, too. I am speaking as a realist. If I were speaking as an idealist, I would say that Mr. Karadzic should sign the plan so that everything will be over. Since I know many of the Bosnian Serbian leaders relatively well, I can say that "the stubborn heads" of the Bosnian Serbs are a big impediment in reaching final peace. I think, however, that others will dictate the unfolding of events in the future, not them. It will be the coalition I have already spoken about, between Russia, Belgrade and Podgorica. In the end, I am convinced that the sanctions will be lifted soon. I have to admit though that this implies heavy and strenuous work.

[Bobicic] It seems that the United States and Russia are more and more talking like friends, although it is certain that there are issues they discuss in Cold War vocabulary. How would you assess these relations and their perspectives?

[Churkin] It is true that we discuss many issues with the United States in a friendly way. There are, however, issues that we discuss in a very unpleasant way, but still as friends. Without this, there would be no final solutions to problems. We often have heated, difficult discussions. The United States always has its own attitude toward a certain situation. Apart from that, it has its own interior social and political problems. As far as a solution to the Yugoslav crisis and the sanctions are concerned, this is a regional crisis. It is actually a regional crisis from the military point of view, but global from a political point of view. Therefore, the world has to harmonize its attitudes toward this issue. There is hope now that Russia is one of the locomotives of that process.

[Box p 3]

Lekic Talked With Churkin

Cetinje, 8 October—Foreign Minister Miodrag Lekic met with Vitaly Churkin, special envoy to the Russian president, in Cetinje today. Mr. Churkin has been in Montenegro for several days already. The topics of discussion were current issues of the Yugoslav crisis as well as Montenegrin-Russian relations. According to the information received from Lekic's office, similar attitudes were expressed concerning a solution to the Yugoslav crisis and concerning new perspectives in future international relations.

[Box p 3]

Prevlaka As an Example

[Bobicic] You know that the Prevlaka issue is of special importance for Montenegro. Is a solution to this problem more certain now?

[Churkin] There is no such problem in the world that would be insoluble. Politicians found the power to solve this issue some time ago, although they did not reach a final solution, but this is not a focus of the crisis now. I think that other issues have to be solved in the same way that the Prevlaka issue has been solved.

[Bobicic] How would you assess the participation of Montenegro in negotiations on a peaceful solution to the [Yugoslav] crisis?

[Churkin] The participation of Montenegro is very important. I think that we have learned many useful things in the talks with President Momir Bulatovic, which is why I am expecting the talks with Foreign Minister Miodrag Lekic with special attention. We constantly have the feeling that we are working with serious politicians. We have heard many interesting opinions during our visit to Montenegro.

Kosovo

'Illegal' Economic Chamber Members on Trial

AU1910170294 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 19 Oct 94

[Report by Milivoje Mihajlovic from Pristina]

[FBIS Translated Text] The trial of the members of the illegal Economic Chamber of the so-called Republic of Kosovo opened in Pristina today. The accused in the Pristina District Court are Ismail Kastrati, Sulejman Ahmeta, and Mustafa Ibrahimi. They were accused of setting up an illegal economic chamber and, following the order of the government of the phantom Republic of Kosovo, collecting, controlling, and directing money for the financing of the Albanian secessionist movement.

Prosecutor Jovica Jovanovic has charged them with the criminal act of associating to carry out hostile activities. The first accused, Ismail Kastrati, who was named as the president of the illegal of the economic association, today gave evidence before the Court's Council, which was presided over by Viseslava Cvetkovic. He denied the charges, saying that the organization was not involved in political activities. He did confirm, however, that as president of the chamber, he held meetings with, as he said, the legitimate and registered Albanian organs, and Ibrahim Rugova, president of the Democratic League of Kosovo.

They also intended to open an office in Albania and the former Yugoslav republics. Kastrati said that the organization consisted of Albanian businessmen and that it had passed several decisions and acts. The trial continues.

Following the trial of the members of the Defense Ministry of the phantom Republic of Kosovo, this is the second trial of members of Albanian para-state organs in Kosovo-Metohija.

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Further on Trial

LD1910165794 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1508 GMT 19 Oct 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Pristina, 19 Oct (TANJUG)—The trial of three leaders of the illegal "Albanian Economic Chamber of Kosovo" opened in the Pristina district court today.

The chamber's "President" Ismail Kastrati, "Secretary" Sulejman Ahmetaj, and "Chairman of the Management Board" Mustafa Ibrahimi gave evidence in court.

According to the prosecution, the three founded the so-called Economic Chamber at the end of March this year, on the orders of the so-called Kosovo government. The task of the chamber was to collect funds for the financing of the separatist movement of Albanians in Kosovo and Metohija. They set up a court of arbitration and a court of honor, drew up a statute and code of practice, and conducted the election of other bodies.

Before the three-man council, chaired by Viseslava Cvetkovic, the three denied the charges, stressing that the only aim of "the chamber was to link up economic subjects." However, they admitted that they had consultations with Ibrahim Rugova, president of the Democratic Alliance of Kosovo [DSK] and with representatives of "the Albanian trade union" and that the initiative for setting up the "economic chamber" came from the DSK. They also said that the "Kosovo government" is not illegitimate.

All three claimed they did not know the content of the "chamber's statute" which says in the introduction that the chamber was founded by the decree of the so-called government of the republic of Kosovo, although they were the chamber's leaders.

The trial continues tomorrow.

Court Sentences Albanians for Secessionism

AU1910141694 Pristina KOSOVA DAILY REPORT Nr. 467 in English 18 Oct 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Yesterday, eight Albanians were sentenced to prison terms for alleged 'threatening the territorial integrity' of the self- proclaimed Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro)—Article 116 in connection with Article 138 ('preparatory activities') of the Penal Code of Yugoslavia—by the Serbian-run district court in Mitrovica, today's Pristina-based BUJKU newspaper reports.

Following three court sessions (23 September, 10 and 11 October), the Serbian court passed the verdict convicting a group of Albanians to 16 years and eight months in prison: Bislim Bajrami (four years), Avdi Behrami (three years), Ramush Osmanaj (two years and eight months), Ismet Veliqi (two years, two months), Besim Orugaj (one year, eight months), Muharrem Veliqi (one year, eight months), Ilaz Gashi (one year, six months), and Milaim Berisha (one year). The last defendant was released from pre-trial detention pending an appeal. Bislim Bajrami, Ramush Osmanaj, Besim Orugaj and Muharrem Veliqi are in flight, so they were sentenced in absence.

The Serbian court, chaired by the Judge Bogoljub Paunovic, 'found' what the Serbian Public Prosecutor Milan Bigovic had already presented in the indictment: The Albanians, mostly from the Drenica region of Kosova, were 'guilty' of allegedly having formed military headquarters in the municipalities of Gllogovc and Skenderaj. Both the defendants and the defending lawyers said no evidence whatsoever was presented to substantiate the charges. The defending lawyers, according to BUJKU, said this was yet another staged political trial of a Stalinist type. The indictment pattern ("... they, i.e. the accused, were up to using force so as to secede Kosova..." and to "unite it with Albania") was branded as slander of the Serbian regime by both the defendants and the defending lawyer.

The Serbian regime has embarked on a campaign of incriminating the political activism of the Albanians in Kosova. As many as 70 Albanians have been convicted for their political activities this year alone. Ukshin Hoti, a former political prisoner, university teacher, and chairman of the UNIKOMB [expansion unknown] party, was sentenced to five years in prison late last month. The Kosova Economic Chamber leaders—Ismail Kastrati, Sylejman Ahmeti, and Mustafk Ibrahimi—are due to be tried tomorrow in a Serbian court in Prishtina, who are, 'naturally enough', charged with 'threatening the territorial integrity' of the self-proclaimed Yugoslavia.

Police Confiscate Albanian-Language Weekly

AU1910173594 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 19 Oct 94 p 28

[BETA report: "Entire Issue of KOHA Destined for the FRY Market Confiscated"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Belgrade (BETA)—An entire issue of the independent Pristina weekly in Albanian language, KOHA, destined for the FRY market, but printed in Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia], was confiscated at the Presevo border crossing the night before last.

This is the first time that the police have confiscated KOHA, BETA agency was told in the editorial office of this weekly, whose editor-in-chief is Veton Surroi. It is 4,000 copies that have been confiscated, which is half of the entire circulation.

The KOHA office in Pristina was not able to obtain any explanation for such a police action, and the editor-in-chief was referred to the border authorities. The KOHA editorial office says that the confiscated issue differs in no way from the previous ones and that they fail to see the reason for the confiscation.

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Vojvodina

Hungarian Community Urges Uncovering of Massacre

LD1910171?94 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1100 GMT 19 Oct 94

[FBIS Translated Text] The events of 50 years ago should be clarified in the interest of reconciliation, the communique of the Democratic Community of Hungarians in Vojvodina [VMDK] states. Szilveszter Varga reports from Belgrade.

[Varga] VMDK Chairman Andras Agoston and one of the deputy chairmen are asking the Serbian parliament to enable, through the adoption of a parliamentary resolution, the uncovering of the events of 50 years ago—the naming of the guilty parties and the exact number of victims. In a letter to the parliament speaker, Andras Agoston and his party are also asking him to support the paying of respect to the victims of 1944-45. This act would be in the interest of reconciliation and would strengthen the sense of solidarity and togetherness between the nations and nationalities living here.

In their letter, the two VMDK leaders recall that according to official sources the aim of the military administration introduced by Tito on 17 October 1944—which lasted for slightly over three months—was to settle accounts with enemies of the people, class enemies, and those who cooperated with the invaders. Under this pretext, however, Hungarians were executed en masse in Ujvidek [Novi Sad], Temerin [Bezdan], Szirak [Sirac], Zombor [Sombor], Szabadka [Subotica], Moza, Kikinda, and many other places. There were some who even demanded taking vengeance on the entire Hungarian population in Vojvodina.

The VMDK leaders are asking the Serbian Parliament to use the emergency debate procedure to deal with their proposal. Through such a debate, light can be shed on the fact that the military administration opened the way to settling accounts between nations, to revanchism and revenge at the end of World War II.

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